



# THE MONTH

*A Catholic Magazine and Review.*

NOVEMBER, 1893.

## CONTENTS.

1. FATHER JOHN MORRIS. <i>By the Editor</i> . . . . .	305
2. SOUTH AFRICA. <i>By the Rev. Reginald Colley</i> . . . . .	311
3. THE CATHOLIC CONFERENCE OF 1893 . . . . .	330
4. A LEGEND OF ST. ELIZABETH. <i>By May Probyn</i> . . . . .	339
5. FACULTIES FOR CONFESSION. Part I. <i>By the late Rev. John Morris</i> . . . . .	341
6. THE MIRACULOUS STATUE OF MELLHEHA. <i>By John M'Hale</i> . . . . .	360
7. CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY. <i>By the Rev. John Rickaby</i> . . . . .	370
8. FRENCH-CANADIAN MIGRATION. <i>By Francis W. Grey</i> . . . . .	387
9. REUNION AT THE BIRMINGHAM CHURCH CONGRESS. <i>By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith</i> . . . . .	397
10. ON THE ROAD TO ROME. A Psychological Fragment. <i>By the late Rev. William Lockhart</i> . . . . .	413
11. THE BOLLANDISTS ON ST. WINEFRIDE. <i>By the Rev. Herbert Lucas</i> . . . . .	421
REVIEWS . . . . .	438
1. Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc. Par les RR. PP. Belon et Balme des FF. Prêcheurs. 2. Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C. 3. The Bollandist Catalogue of Paris MSS. 4. Life of Blessed Gerard Majella. By the Rev. O. R. Vassall, C.S.S.R. 5. Portraits. By Augusta Webster. 6. Sinai et Syrie. Par le R. P. M. Jullien, S.J.	
LITERARY RECORD . . . . .	450
I.—Books and Pamphlets. II.—Magazines.	

LONDON :

OFFICE OF THE MONTH: MANRESA PRESS, ROEHAMPTON.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES. DUBLIN: M. H. GILL AND SON.

BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY AND CO.

Price Two Shillings.

*All rights of translation and reproduction reserved.*

**THE GREAT  
BLOOD  
PURIFIER  
AND  
RESTORER.**

**"FOR THE BLOOD IS THE LIFE"**

**CLARKE'S**

**WORLD-FAMED**

**BLOOD MIXTURE**

**LARGEST SALE  
OF ANY  
MEDICINE  
IN  
THE WORLD.**

The Great Blood Purifier and Restorer. For Cleansing and Clearing the Blood from all impurities, it cannot be too highly recommended.

For Scrofula, Scurvy, Eczema, Skin and Blood Diseases, Pimples and Sores of all kinds, it is a never-failing and permanent cure.

It Cures Old Sores.  
Cures Sores on the Neck.  
Cures Sore Legs.  
Cures Pimples on the Face.  
Cures Scurvy.  
Cures Eczema.

It Cures Ulcers.  
Cures Blood and Skin Diseases.  
Cures Glandular Swellings.  
Clears the Blood from all impure matter,  
From whatever cause arising.

It is the only real specific for Gout and Rheumatic Pains.  
It removes the cause from the blood and bones.

As this mixture is pleasant to the taste, and warranted free from anything injurious to the most delicate constitution of either sex, from infancy to old age, the Proprietors solicit sufferers to give it a trial to test its value.

**Important Advice to all.**—Cleanse the vitiated blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, and sores; cleanse it when you find it obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it when it is foul—your feelings will tell you when. Keep your blood pure, and the health of the system will follow.

Sold in Bottles 2s. 9d. each, and in cases containing Six times the quantity, 11s., sufficient to effect a permanent cure in the great majority of long-standing cases. BY ALL CHEMISTS AND PATENT MEDICINE VENDORS throughout the world, or sent to any address on receipt of 33 or 132 stamps by the Proprietors, THE LINCOLN & MIDLAND COUNTIES' DRUG COMPANY, LINCOLN.

**TRADE MARK, "BLOOD MIXTURE."**

Ask for CLARKE'S World-Famed BLOOD MIXTURE, and do not be persuaded to take an imitation.

**THE UNIVERSAL HOUSEHOLD REMEDIES!!!**

**HOLLOWAY'S PILLS & OINTMENT**

These excellent FAMILY MEDICINES are invaluable in the treatment of all ailments incidental to every HOUSEHOLD. The PILLS PURIFY, REGULATE, and STRENGTHEN the whole system, while the OINTMENT is unequalled for the cure of Bad Legs, Bad Breasts, Old Wounds, Sores and Ulcers. Possessed of these REMEDIES, every Mother has at once the means of curing most complaints to which herself or Family is liable.

N.B.—Advice Gratis at 78, New Oxford Street, late 533, Oxford Street, London, daily between the hours of 11 and 4, or by letter.

**ZAEHNSDORF,**

**BOOKBINDER,**

**Cambridge Works, 144 & 146, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.**

(FOR FIFTY YEARS AT CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.)

**Artistic Bindings to any Design.**

BOOKS BOUND IN VELVET, SILK, OR WORKED MATERIAL.

**Library Bindings in Cloth, Half Calf, or Half Morocco.**

SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO BOOKS WITH PLATES.

**MISSALS AND ALTAR BOOKS STRONGLY BOUND.**

Medals. — DUBLIN, 1865.

PARIS, 1867.

VIENNA, 1873.

**VANHEEMS AND WHEELER,**

*Exclusively Clerical Tailors.*

The only House in England which is conversant with the Roman formula in respect to the canonical dress of the Catholic Hierarchy.

**47, Berners Street, London, W.**







*Father John Morris.*

---

"ONE generation passeth away and another generation cometh." These words of the Wise Man seem to be but a truism, but they have a very real and a very sorrowful significance to us when we see those who have been our friends, our guides, our counsellors, pass away and leave us in our loneliness. Somehow, as life advances, their loss is for the most part not that of single individuals. They seem to depart from us not so much one by one, when each loss might be compensated by the presence of those who still remain, but in such quick succession that there appears to be a sort of strange conspiracy among them that we should have no breathing-time to recover from our sorrow before it is renewed by missing another familiar face from the circle of those we love. So it has been of late with the English Province of the Society of Jesus. One generation of veterans is quickly passing, leaving only one here and there to remind us that they belong to a little company of noble souls of whom the greater number have already gone to their reward. We have scarce recovered from the loss of Fathers Christie and Coleridge and Tickell and Jones and Harper, when a fresh blow falls upon us in the death of Father Wynne, an ideal of the English Christian gentleman, chivalrous, stalwart, large-hearted, generous, ready to sacrifice all that was dearest to him when conscience bid him; to quit the home of his youth and the College Fellowship which held out sweet prospects of a life of cultured luxury and gentleman-like ease. And among those who lived in close contact with him after he had entered the Society of Jesus, who is there who will not remember Father Wynne with hearty affection and fond regret?

Yet this was but the harbinger of a fresh sorrow. Another of those who fought in the front ranks has left in desolation and bereavement a large circle both within and without the religious body to which he belonged. The sudden death of Father

Morris has been a severe blow to all members, both high and low, of the Catholic Church in England. He was well known and greatly respected, both within and without it, for his remarkable historical knowledge, his wonderful faculty of persevering intellectual labour, his vast store of accurate and varied information, his intimate knowledge of all that related to the ritual and ceremonies of the Church, and his clear and attractive literary style. If he was respected for his intellectual gifts, he was loved, and fondly loved, for his noble moral nature. He had an extraordinary gift of counsel, that made him the trusted adviser of all who knew him. His single-minded devotion to his friends and unswerving loyalty to them, his tender-hearted gentleness and kindness, and above all, his unaffected humility, and his loyal and unquestioning obedience to all those in authority, were also signal features in his character. \* Of all his virtues, this last was perhaps the most pronounced. Father Morris had a very intense military spirit. He was a soldier by nature, and he rejoiced—we might almost say revelled—in the military spirit of blind obedience that the Society of Jesus inculcates in her sons. He was naturally a very strong man with a very strong will and a very keen intellect, and this strength exhibited itself in all its chastened intensity in his life in the Society. He was a living proof that so far from Jesuit obedience involving any slavish subserviency or destroying the force and individuality of the character of those who practise it, it is found most perfect and in its fullest development in the strong and not in the weak, in the man of intellectual force, not of intellectual feebleness, in the determined and resolute, not in those easily led and of a naturally pliant will.

It was impossible for any one to be for even a short time in Father Morris' company without being impressed by his strength. His words were listened to instinctively by all who heard them, and always carried weight even with those who held a different opinion from his own. His acuteness and incisive power were no less remarkable than his strength. He was as sharp as a needle in seeing the general bearing of any question submitted to him. No one ever advanced more rapidly from premiss to conclusion, or gathered up the threads of an argument with greater quickness. Yet his rapid inferences were never hurried, and he simply worked out in a few moments what required

a long process of thought in the slower intelligences of ordinary men. This mental speed was helped not a little by the astonishing readiness and accuracy of his memory. He never forgot anything, and, unlike most men of abnormal retentive power, was able to give to each fact its due importance, and to see the relation between the vast assemblage of details that were ever ready to present themselves just as he needed them in his mental field of vision. A striking instance of his keen insight into difficult questions occurred while he was Professor at St. Beuno's. In one of the cases of conscience which have to be solved by the students there, the solution turned on some very nice point connected with the privileges granted to a certain convent of nuns. When the solutions had been read, the president of the case gave his decision in a speech that carried with it all present. It was well argued and a fine piece of rhetoric, and the grounds given for his opinion seemed unassailable. The next day Father Morris, who had been present, gave his usual lecture on the points that had been raised the previous day. One by one he gently but most unequivocally disposed of each and all of the reasons given for the solution, and before his lecture was over, had completely reversed, by arguments quite indisputable, and to the satisfaction of every member of his class, the conclusion that had been arrived at.

But in the order of nature Father Morris' intellectual power and great moral gifts were but the setting that rendered the more brilliant his supernatural virtue and the moral beauty of his character. He invariably threw himself with all his force on the side of authority in any question that presented itself. This was the more striking on account of his singular independence of mind and the jealous care with which he always defended the rights of the individual to his own opinion where there was no utterance of the Church that was clearly infallible. He hated minimizing, and used to dwell with great earnestness on the mistaken policy of "paring down" the doctrines of the Church for the sake of rendering the acceptance of her teaching more easy to those who are weak in faith. He was a perfect instance, so far as anything human can be perfect, of the just proportions with which a fearless independence of thought, and liberty of opinion in things doubtful, can be united with a resolute spirit of obedience, a most intense and unfaltering personal loyalty to those who speak in the name of God, and

with the most absolute submission of the individual judgment whenever there are present undoubted marks of the infallible voice of the Catholic Church speaking through her appointed representatives.

In spite of all his gifts, never was there a man of greater simplicity, or one more humble and unpretending. He was always ready, amid the press of the most important business, to find time for any one who desired to consult him, and the gentleness and patience with which he listened to those in trouble and perplexity, have healed the wounds and assuaged the sorrows of many a heart that was well-nigh broken. He was wonderfully considerate, and in his tender sympathy made the troubles of others his own, and seemed to identify himself with them even while they were conscious all the time that he was for them a strong support, firm as a rock, on whom they could implicitly rely. He had a great dread of being feared, and used to regret a certain sternness of exterior that made the superficial looker-on think that he was severe. For he was the very reverse of severe, the gentlest and the kindest of men, and most gentle and kind to those who knew him best.

This was one of the most remarkable traits of Father Morris' character, and is the highest praise that can be bestowed on any one, that it was his intimates, those who were brought into the closest and nearest connection with him day by day, who loved and esteemed him the most. Most men discover to the members of their own community certain weaknesses and pettinesses hidden from the outer world. Not so Father Morris. He could bear close inspection, and such inspection only disclosed fresh virtues. He was always the same. He was remarkably exempt from the mere changes and variations to which even the best men are subject. No need to study time and place to obtain from him what you desired. Morning, noon, or night, when he was well or when he was ailing, when he was full of business or when comparatively at leisure, there was the same firm, friendly, reliable, constant kindness, the same flow of interesting, edifying, charitable conversation, the same readiness to help, the same humble acceptance of any suggestion from those who were obviously and confessedly his inferiors, the same just, equitable, fair-judging, keen-sighted appreciation of all that was interesting and important in the world around.

Of his inner life we cannot attempt to speak in a slight sketch like this. Happily there remain notes, sermons,

retreats, lights in prayer, which give us some little insight into the beautiful soul from whence they sprang. But they are scarcely needed ; for an exterior so constantly edifying as his, was of necessity the product of an interior holiness of a very high type. It was impossible for any one to hold confidential converse with him without having his tone and standard raised thereby. There was such a continual element of the supernatural underlying and running through his ordinary talk—not outwardly expressed, but present none the less ; not put forward, but all the more influential because kept in the background.

But while he raised the tone of all, he had a special gift of leading on to perfection holy souls who desired to devote themselves wholly to the higher service of their Lord. How many good Religious who owe their vocations to him will thank him in Heaven to all eternity ! How many are indebted to him for having led them on to a sanctity to which they would never have attained without him ! How many both in the cloister and in the world has he rebuked, exhorted, warned, encouraged, with such a prudent judgment and such a clear perception of their needs, that from their first experience of his guidance and his unwearied kindness and wise counsel they became his faithful and devoted friends for ever ! And of these faithful and devoted friends he had many indeed. It would be difficult to find a man in England who has left behind him, I do not say more friends, but more who felt and will feel all their lives through, that they owe him a debt of gratitude that they can never repay, that he has built up the life of their souls as only a master builder could build it, and has raised them nearer to Heaven with the powerful hand of one who himself lived near to God and drew from Him that supernatural strength that he was able to communicate to the souls of others.

Father Morris died, as he himself had always wished, in the midst of his work. The day before his death he had been busily engaged with the *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, to which he had for some months past devoted himself almost exclusively. He was then apparently in excellent health ; bright, active, cheerful, and full of energy. On Sunday morning he read out to two of the Fathers some notes of the sermon he had prepared for the eleven o'clock Mass, and afterwards paid a long-promised visit to the lay-brother in the kitchen, inquiring about the stove, the cooking, the domestic arrangements generally. He then went down to the church, taking for his text the words of our Lord

from the Gospel, "Whose image and inscription is this?" His sermon was a most interesting one, full of fire and animation. He had finished a long introduction on the various parables and sayings of our Lord during the first three days of Holy Week. All the incidents were narrated with striking minuteness and precision, and in dealing with the story of the tribute-money, he illustrated the relations of the Jews to the Romans from those of modern nationalities. He was just entering on the words by which our Lord baffled His crafty assailants, when he made a long pause, then began again to repeat with great difficulty the words, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," and then fell backward into the arms of one of the congregation who had run up the pulpit steps to his assistance. He was carried into the sacristy, but by the time that he was laid on the floor he was quite dead.

The death of Father Morris has left a blank in many a heart and a gap that never can be filled. He possessed that gift that belongs more specially to men of personal holiness: the gift of dealing with each as if that individual was his greatest friend on earth. In this there was no unreality, no effort to show a friendliness he did not feel. His was the supernatural friendliness of one who regarded all as representatives of our Lord, and to be treated accordingly. One of the many beauties of his character was the power that he possessed of thus idealizing his friends. He honoured them each and all so highly, and loved to praise and exalt them in their absence. Many indeed there are who as they stood at his grave or read the news of his death cried out in their hearts, with the writer of this little notice,—O truest, and kindest, and most loyal of friends, powerful in word and work, prudent and patient counsellor, model priest and exemplary Religious: "how art thou numbered among the children of God, and thy lot is among the saints!"

R. F. C.



## *South Africa.*

---

A FEW years ago our colonial possessions in South Africa were looked upon as of very doubtful value to the country. Mr. Froude even went so far as to consider the advisability of giving them up altogether, his only difficulty in the matter being the evident necessity for us to keep a safe naval station in those regions. No doubt the long disaffection of the Dutch element, culminating in war, ignominious defeat, and still more disgraceful surrender of all our claims; the many native wars, costly and not always glorious; and the slow progress of our colonies; these were not matters for encouragement. And on the other hand, the constant shilly-shallying of our policy, the meddlesome interference of the Colonial Office had engendered a feeling in the Colony which was very far indeed from loyalty. Now the position is much changed. The Dutch question is settling itself amicably; there is no longer any great danger of a native war near the colonies, and gold and diamonds have drawn the interests of many to these African possessions. Before going further we must remind ourselves what the countries are which are included in the general term of South Africa, that is, in the vast and varied regions stretching from the Zambesi to the Cape. They afford us excellent examples of the very various ways in which countries may be brought under British influence.

First in age and importance is Cape Colony itself, which has been a British possession nearly all the present century and has had its own responsible Government since 1872. Natal until last year was in the intermediate stage of enjoying representative Government though still a Crown colony. It is now fully emancipated; though many of the inhabitants were loath to change their position, as the enormous preponderance of coloured men in their confines seemed to them to render necessary the presence of an Imperial defensive force. To the North, British Bechuanaland is a Crown colony pure and simple,

governed and supported by the Colonial Office, a fairly effective but very costly kind of administration. North of this again is the "Protectorate," where the well-known Khama governs his subjects with remarkable prudence and firmness, while the ægis of the British power protects him against the dreaded Matabele. Strong drink, the most deadly scourge of a native State, is prohibited in his territories, and he has shown no little firmness, and our High Commissioner at Cape Town has nobly supported him, in the exclusion of all traders who violated this regulation. The northern parts of Khama's territories are less reached by British influence, but are still not altogether disregarded, and are known as the Trans-Protectorate. There is a regular, though not frequent postal service even there, but the telegraph has not yet reached so far. East of Khama's territories dwell the dreaded Matabele, and further east again the Mashonas. This is the region of which we have heard a good deal lately, where the South African Chartered Company are establishing British rule.

There remain to be mentioned the two inland Dutch States—the Orange Free State, shut in on three sides by British possessions, a country of great fertility, but with no other resources but farming as yet developed. The Government of this State is on friendly terms with the Colony—it has joined the South African Customs Union, from which Natal stands jealously aloof; it has adopted the special legislation with regard to diamond stealing, which was considered necessary for the good of that industry, and the railway right through the State belongs to the Cape Government. To the north of this again is the Transvaal, or, as the people prefer to call it, the South African Republic—a country over which we have certain Imperial rights as to foreign treaties and the like. Its inhabitants have not yet forgiven our treatment of them, though its future prospects have been so marvellously altered by the discovery of gold and the consequent influx of English. So that we have here the curious anomaly that a Dutch State, and a very jealous one too, has a larger proportion of English inhabitants—they have not yet the rights of citizens—than Cape Colony itself. On the west coast a large district belongs to Germany: it is rich in minerals, but its progress is much impeded by the want of harbours. The only one along the coast, Walwich Bay, is in the possession of Cape Colony; and an idea of the inhospitable nature of the sea-board may be



drawn from the facts that this little settlement has to import all its fresh water from Cape Town; and that a strip all along the coast of about ninety miles in breadth never has a drop of rain or dew, and is an absolutely arid desert.

Along the east coast, north of Natal, the Portuguese possessions stretch continuously to far north of the Zambesi—a rich country enough, but marred by a deadly climate, which makes all the low-lying ground fatal to Europeans. So perhaps England did not lose much by the Delagoa Bay arbitration, which threw on Portugal the fatal honour of manning so deadly a post, the finest harbour of South Africa, but one surrounded by a forty mile belt of swamp. As yet the Portuguese have not been able to gain a footing in the healthier districts inland, where various tribes of Zulus under Gungunyane still maintain their independence. Of these native tribes and of other native reserves, such as Basutoland, Pondoland, Zululand, and the disputed Swaziland, it is unnecessary to say more at present.

Now to speak more particularly of Cape Colony, a country about twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland. The climate over so vast an area is very varied, especially as the altitudes also are very different. The coast line without being specially unhealthy, as it is in more tropical regions, is not specially wholesome, and the summer heat is trying; but as soon as the first slopes that fringe the coast are mounted, the air becomes more bracing, and higher up still on the second and third plateaus, which rise to three thousand and four thousand feet altitude, the dry and invigorating climate is certain to secure the Colony an ever-increasing reputation as a health resort in all cases of weak lungs. At present the sparseness of the population prevents the many little conveniences needed by invalids from being easily procurable except at a few centres, but even with the unavoidable drawbacks as to food and lodging, there are many places where the fine clear air more than makes up for any little deficiencies in that way. But the steep mountain ranges that form these plateaus have an injurious effect on the country in the agricultural point of view. For the rapid fall of the river-beds causes the quick exhaustion of their water supply, so that the bulk of the rivers are dry most of the year; and even the larger and permanent streams are rendered useless for purposes of transport by the many rapids. Thus even the great Orange River, which flows a thousand miles almost all across the country from east to west,

and, with its tributary the Vaal, drains an immense area, a region twice the size of France, is useless for navigation, plunging at King George's Falls four hundred feet down; and in the last five hundred miles of its course, where it has cut a deep bed for itself through the high plateau, its waters are quite inaccessible to the farmer on its banks, and it is said a traveller might even die of thirst with its abundant waters flowing almost at his feet.

The same cause and the sandy soil in many parts are responsible for the rapid drying of the ground after rain, which is the great drawback to the farming prospects of the country. In the western province the rainfall is always abundant in winter, while there is almost uninterrupted drought in summer. In the eastern province the rainfall is far more uncertain, there being no periodical rains, but on the other hand the country is more frequently refreshed by showers, which usually take the form of violent storms. When these are rare, the sufferings of farmers are very severe, as the grass gets dried up and food for cattle very scarce. In some parts indeed nature has provided for this difficulty by covering the country with bush. The mimosa, acacia, and other shrubs protect the grass from the scorching sun in summer, and their succulent leaves are themselves food for the cattle when grass fails. The want of regular rain however makes large parts of the country unfit for agricultural purposes, and this joined to the labour difficulty brings it about that the colony is an importer instead of an exporter of wheat. Nay, even with regard to butter and milk the inhabitants are largely dependent on foreign countries, condensed milk and tinned butter being in common use. No doubt there are difficulties of transport, but still it seems certain that a little more enterprise would secure not only the supplying of the colonial market, but also the export of large quantities of butter and cheese. At present hides, wool, and ostrich feathers, with lately a little fruit, are the only articles of agricultural export. Ostrich farming has been very successful during the few years since its introduction by Mr. Douglass, the present Member for Graham's Town. One drawback of course is the uncertainty of the market; while it must be owned that the ferocity of the cocks is another. It is never safe to go near one of these birds; they will attack the man that reared them and still looks after them, as fiercely as they will a stranger, and if the proper precautions are not

taken, such an attack not uncommonly proves fatal. The bird will rip a man up with his long toe-nail, or will stamp upon him till he is crushed. Their keepers approach them with a thick branch, with which they keep them at bay till they can throw a cloth over their heads to blindfold them. Then the birds give in, and can be led off to the little enclosure, where they are clipped of their precious feathers.

Cattle and sheep are the other great resources of farmers, and horses also are largely bred. A fair amount is done to improve the breeds by the importation of well-bred stock, and the Government encourages cattle shows up and down the country. Animals escape many of the ordinary maladies that beset their kindred in our damp and cold climate; but there are local plagues that sadly thin their numbers at times. Lung disease and horse-sickness are now being specially investigated by a pupil of Pasteur's, brought over by the Cape Government and established in a well-fitted laboratory at Graham's Town. The other Governments of South Africa have shown their appreciation of his work by voting sums in aid, so that experiments can now be carried on efficiently, which it is hoped may end in discovering means of inoculating against these plagues. The losses owing to such outbreaks are at present immense—horse-sickness will sometimes sweep away in a few weeks two-thirds of the horses in a district.

Drought is another enemy of the farmer, which from time to time involves him in heavy losses through the failure of food for his cattle. The Government is trying to encourage the sinking of deep wells, and provides the necessary machinery on application. On the other hand, the heavy rainfalls are often very destructive, involving sudden floods and causing the death of more delicate animals exposed to the storm, such as lambs, ostriches, calves. The suddenness of the downpour may be judged from this, that instances are common enough of men driving their light Cape-carts across a drift, *i.e.*, the river-bed roughly adapted for a roadway, when it is quite dry, suddenly hearing the waters coming down upon them yet being unable to drive up the opposite bank in time, so that the carriage and horses are washed away, and the lives of the occupants exposed to great risk. Violent hail-storms too are common in some parts, the hail-stones being so large that they pierce right through the corrugated iron commonly used for roofing, and do great damage to the contents of the house. It

may easily be imagined that the course of such a storm is marked by wholesale devastation, the very grass being torn up by the roots. There is a South African story that Mr. Froude asked a Dutch farmer how he managed if he was out on the open veldt, or grassy plain, when such a storm came on. The man answered him that he took the saddle off his horse, put it over his head and protected himself as well as he could. "But suppose you hadn't got a horse?" urged the inquirer. The farmer looked surprised, but finally grasping the question, answered simply: "Why, then of course I should not be on the veldt." The swarms of locusts that have been travelling about the Colony during the past two years must be mentioned as another occasional plague. The ruin they work wherever they settle is absolute and entire, not a green thing is left; and when they are first hatched out from the eggs they crawl along the ground in dense masses, leaving nothing behind them but a slimy waste. They often get on the railway line and delay trains for hours, the engines being unable to force their way through.

Wild animals too are a considerable pest to farmers. Elephants of course have long been extinct in the Colony, except a few in the Government reserve known as the Addo bush; but leopards, wild boars, troops of wild dogs and other less formidable pests are still common; and cattle thefts by the natives are also a source of serious loss. It is on this account that there is so much outcry against unnecessary "locations," as the small native reserves are called, and against farmers being allowed to keep more natives than they actually need as labourers. On the eastern frontier especially, where natives are very numerous, the losses are said to be great; and it is exceedingly difficult to trace a theft in the thick bush. In spite of all these drawbacks, farmers seem to get on fairly well, and though it may not be easy to realize a fortune, still they can keep very comfortable and well provided homes, and afford what is necessary for the education of their children. With more careful farming and improved communications they may yet see much more prosperous times. Farms are usually very large, thousands of acres each; but in some localities there is a thrifty population of small holders.

Naturally in such a thinly-populated country the roads are very bad; in fact, they are usually only tracks which have been cleared of bushes and other insurmountable obstacles, and have

been travelled along by other ox-waggon and Cape carts, and along which you may hope to find the "drifts" across the riverbeds so far looked after as to make it possible with care to drive across without an upset. The main lines of railway are a very great boon, but until branches can be made, the distances for all except a few lucky farmers are such as to make it impossible to send perishables to market. At first sight it is marvellous how self-supporting railways can ever have been made in such a thinly-inhabited country; nor could it have ever been done but for the sudden growth of the diamond and gold cities, Kimberley and Johannesburg. What would have been the fate of lines for the ordinary colonial traffic is shown by the history of a branch such as that to Graaff-Reinet from Port Elizabeth, a distance of one hundred and eighty-five miles, which carried seven through passengers in a month. Even the main line from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth had but fifteen passengers in twenty days over a section of the route. However, the goods trains for up-country are frequent and well laden, so that the Government railway system is worked without loss on the whole. This is certainly a marvellous achievement, and though the colonists grumble at the slow trains, narrow gauge, steep gradients and sharp curves, they have certainly reason to be grateful to those who avoided all unnecessary expenses in laying out and working the lines, and thus saved the Colony from an insupportable burden of debt and from being unable to continue steadily extending their railway system.

The Dutch party are well organized in the Colony and have an able leader in the Assembly. They form a majority among the electors, though their representatives do not as yet outnumber the English in the Houses. Still the Ministry depends upon them, as the present Government at home does on the Irish party, and it has to carry out the behests of the Bond under penalty of being outvoted in the House. Happily the Dutch element is contented enough, and usually limits its efforts to such questions as raising the franchise, so as to exclude the native vote; insisting that Dutch be put on an equality with English in the schools and public examinations, and opposing any stringent laws to limit the liquor traffic, which is a very lucrative one for farmers. The Dutch spoken in the Colony and the republics is an exceedingly corrupt dialect, with a large admixture of English and native words, and of French also in those districts where

the French Huguenots, expelled by Louis XIV., settled. The native question is of course a prominent one in the Colony. There are 1,150,000 natives according to the last census, and only 376,000 Europeans; and though a vast proportion of these coloured races are living in the native reserves to the east of the Colony, still the question how they are to be governed must necessarily be an anxious one. Those whose homes are permanently among the whites of the Colony are mostly a mixed race, Kafir and Hottentot, with here and there a trace of the Bushman type. They live either in "locations" near the towns where they work, or in a few scattered huts on the farms where they are employed as labourers. They mostly profess some form of Christianity, but it cannot be said that the bulk of them have improved much by their contact with white men. The temptation to drink the poisonous and cheap spirit known as "Cape smoke" is irresistible for the poor fellows, and the result is disastrous. They have taken up very little else of civilization, and still live in their native huts, or in inferior reproductions of the same, built of old wood and corrugated iron. The difficulty of getting them to work steadily is the constant theme of lamentation by the farmers. Their thieving habits have been already mentioned, and the Cape Mounted Police, though a fine body of men, are unable to cope with the evil. The feelings on this matter on the border became very bitter about a year ago, and led to a sad miscarriage of justice. Some farmers took the law into their own hands, seized the men they supposed guilty (though with very poor evidence), and flogged them, so that one died and the others were very seriously injured. The facts were undisputed, but the jury acquitted. The presiding judge spoke very strongly on the matter, and the miscarriage of justice was much lamented on all sides: but the evidence of strong feeling and the fear of a national outbreak forced the Government to pay attention to one of those urgent social needs which Governments are so apt to neglect in behalf of some political cry.

It will naturally be asked what the Catholic Church is doing for the natives in the Colony. The answer unhappily is, that very little indeed is being done. The Vicars Apostolic have had such great difficulties in securing priests to look after their own scattered Catholics, and have always been aware of so many being lost to the Church for the want of pastors, that it has been practically impossible for them to do anything for the poor.



natives. In the Eastern vicariate a great effort was made to secure the help of the Trappists, but unfortunately they came at a time of great drought, and finally gave up the effort to establish themselves in the Colony. They went to Natal, where they now have an immense establishment which is doing much good among the Zulus, making good Catholics of them and training them in various trades. The most hopeful work for the poor blacks at present in hand in Cape Colony itself, are the industrial schools at Dunbrody, which are in receipt of Government aid, and are very highly praised by the inspectors. The Jesuit Father in charge has made a good many converts also among the adult natives settled on the farm ; and so long as they are well looked after, they are very edifying and exact. But two or three generations will have to pass before they are much more than good children, and are able to withstand temptations without having a guardian close at hand. Many of the girls from the school have turned out good domestic servants in Catholic houses, and thus help to supply a great want in the Colony. The boys are trained to various trades, carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, and the like, and others to gardening and agriculture. In Natal and the districts dependent on that vicariate more is being done among the natives, as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate have undertaken the work, and are doing much good, especially among the Basutos.

A word should be said about the educational system of the Colony. There is probably no part of the world where so much is done in this way under such difficulties. Not only are there public schools in all the towns, but every effort is made to help the scattered farmers to educate their children by giving grants in aid to pay the teacher, proportioned to the number of children got together. The system is nominally undenominational ; but in practice it is very far from being so, the majority on the Local Board regulating the religious instruction of the school. This is done quite undisguisedly in many cases, the head masters boasting of the fact on their public speech days. Catholics being everywhere in a minority would like the principle acknowledged in theory as well as practice, so as to secure help for Catholic schools, and good use was made of a flagrant case, where a Catholic lady who had just passed her B.Sc. examination, was elected science teacher in a Dutch school, but afterwards rejected when it was found what her religion was. The Catholic convents hold a very high position in the Colony,

and at one time had most of the education of the colonial girls in their hands, but now other schools have been opened by the various denominations, the Church of England, Wesleyan, Dutch Calvinists, and others that prevail in the Colony. The first deaf-and-dumb school in South Africa was started by the Dominican Nuns at Cape Town. This still prospers and receives Government aid. The Assumption Nuns at Graham's Town gained themselves a great name by their devoted service during the Kafir wars, in the days when Graham's Town was an important military station and a frontier post. The German Dominican Nuns at King William's Town are setting a great example by their large industrial schools; and they have moreover the care of many hospitals up-country. The Sisters of Nazareth also are doing great work in the principal towns, and are held in great esteem by all.

The successive discoveries of mineral wealth to the north of Cape Colony have produced changes that may well be called a revolution. On the one hand they attracted emigrants and drew English capital to South Africa, and by encouraging railways did much to open up the country. On the other hand, young men have been very much unsettled and great numbers have given up their steady and secure professional progress for hopes of sudden fortune, too often visionary. Governments too have been distracted from the prosaic work of steady development to fix their attention on the more brilliant pictures. The gold of Johannesburg is of course outside the colonial limits, nor could we possibly claim the Randt with that somewhat high-handed policy with which are pushed aside the claims of the Orange State to Kimberley and its diamonds. It would take too long to enter here on any history of the growth of Kimberley since the days when a traveller was attracted by a pebble in the hands of children on the banks of the Vaal River, which Dr. Atherstone of Graham's Town declared to be a diamond, thus starting the river diggings; or since the night when a weary workman sleeping under a bush found that he had scratched up a diamond during his sleep, and so discovered the "New Rush," now the Kimberley mine. The "dry diggings" brought Kimberley on with marvellous speed, spite of the immense distances to be travelled by ox-waggons, and the difficulty of getting supplies. The gradual depreciation of the diamond owing to the excessive output, suggested to Mr. Rhodes and others the necessity of limiting production and of amalgamation



as a means thereunto. This was the origin of the vast monopoly known as de Beers, which has been able by its wealth and influence to secure the most abnormal legislation in defence of its industry. From the days when the diamond city first attracted the floating rascality of our European towns, the easily concealed theft of diamonds has become a regular plague; and the receivers of stolen goods multiplied and prospered and attained to high positions, though their neighbours with bated breath spoke of them as "I.D.B.'s," Illicit Diamond Buyers. The new legislation made it a criminal offence to deal in rough diamonds without a license; and any one found with such a stone has to be able to account for it and show the register of purchase, otherwise he is accounted as a thief. Any one in the Colony is liable to be searched at any time, if suspected, though of course the special force of detectives know their men and women, and do not often trouble honest folk. The part of the system most decried is the "trapping." Natives are employed to induce suspected persons to deal in the forbidden treasures in some place where the detectives are within earshot: if the victim is dazzled by the prize within his reach it will not be many days before he is lamenting his credulity on the break-water at Cape Town, where he will have seven years' wholesome exercise. The whole trade and its attendant means of detection naturally give rise to many exciting scenes, many instances of the biter bit. It is said that imitation rough diamonds are regularly manufactured in England and sent out to be passed off on the I.D.B.'s, who have not usually any time for close examination; and to whom of course the law affords no remedy. The other special safeguard secured by the great Company is the right to shut up their workmen, for the six months for which they usually engage, within a lofty barrier—we cannot call it a wall, as, like almost everything at Kimberley, it is built of corrugated iron. This is the compound system instituted to prevent stealing, but producing incidental results of even more importance than its avowed object. First with regard to the natives employed, who come from all parts of South Africa to make their fortunes by six months' service. For them the compound system is simply salvation. Without it all their weekly wages, which are high, would disappear in the spirit store. Now they can get no strong drink, and good wholesome provisions are provided for them by the Company within the compound at moderate prices. On the other hand, this shutting

up of the workmen and the closing of several of the mines to limit output, is the ruin of Kimberley. House property that was of immense value is worthless, and hotels and stores that did a great business are closed and falling to ruin. So that the mere mention of the great Company is enough to excite the ire of a Kimberley man. But the poor Barotse or Bechuana workman finds at the end of his six months that his wages and the percentage paid him for diamonds he has picked up have made his fortune. He can buy a gun, and horse and cattle, spend some of the latter in buying a wife, and set himself up for life. His wife will till the ground and gather in the mealies on which they live; and he will look after his cattle and smoke his pipe.

The excitement and gambling and horrible depravity of Kimberley have now for the most part transferred themselves to Johannesburg. The town itself is a wonderful place: a splendid city planted in the howling wilderness, for the plain round it is even more desolate and dusty than the Kimberley district. Johannesburg is lit up with electric light, and has churches, and schools, and hospitals, theatre, club, and stores that are unrivalled in South Africa. And all this sprang into being when the nearest railway station was nearly a thousand miles away, and everything had to be brought across the roadless waste by the patient ox drawing the slow lumbering waggon, with its burden of four thousand pounds. Johannesburg men boast that such a growth was never known. It prompted activity all around them, and Cape Colony and Natal started rival systems of railway to provide for the golden city. Durban, the port of Natal, was far nearer than any Cape port, but the Cape seems to have played its cards better and succeeded in persuading the Dutch States to allow its line to be extended to the Vaal River, and there met by the line of the "Netherlands Company." Natal indeed pushed on its line to its own frontier, bifurcating to reach the two Dutch States, but there at present they stop. There is no line to meet them, and so goods by that route are exposed to all the uncertainties of a long waggon journey. Meanwhile the Delagoa Bay Railway, which must supersede both the others, is being pushed on, and will soon be open; whether it will be weighted with having to pay an odd million, claimed by the original English Company, is a question at present under arbitration. Meanwhile Johannesburg is running its race of success and iniquity. Wealth abounds and every crime is rife. Seven corpses lying

in the streets were the results of the orgies of last Christmas Day, but no one was brought up by the police. Justice under the Transvaal Government is indeed lame of foot. The necessary laws exist. To sell drink to a native incurs a £40 fine and forfeiture of license. But where can the police be got in such a country who will not prefer a £50 bribe to the doubtful prospect of a reward for a successful conviction? So the poor natives drink away their wages, varying proceedings by an occasional pitched battle, on an idle Sunday, between the Banyas of one mine and the Gazas of another. The moral state of the white population is little better. Happily the Catholic Church has a good footing in the town, spite of the frowns and opposition of Dutch bigotry. There is a fine church; the Marist Brothers, who are doing so much work in Cape Colony, have an excellent school, and the Dominican Nuns from King William's Town earn golden opinions by their devoted toil in the hospitals and schools. Nothing can be done for the natives, leading such lives as they do, and staying only a short time at the "Randt."

Of late the attention of Englishmen has been specially drawn to the regions north of these settled States, known under the general name of Mashonaland, a high plateau stretching away as far as the Zambesi.<sup>1</sup> To Catholics too the region is interesting, as being the scene of the labours of the Zambesi missionaries, as has lately been described in *THE MONTH*. A few years ago this magnificent country was known only to a few traders or adventurous hunters such as Selous. But the reports that were spread about by these as to the ancient gold-workings all over the country, attracted other adventurers. Mining rights were secured by several, and these were bought up by various Companies. The genius and activity of Mr. Rhodes succeeded in uniting these various rights, and finally in securing a royal charter for the British South African Company, which holds all the concessions made by Lo Bengula, the chief of the Matabele, who are lords of the country. These Matabele are Zulus, who broke away from their tribe about sixty years ago under Mosilikatse, and have ever since existed by raiding their neighbours, especially the hapless Mashonas, the ægis of British protection having long ago made it unsafe to interfere with Khama's country. Mashonaland is an elevated plateau, rising

<sup>1</sup> The information in this part of the paper is mostly drawn from conversations with the experienced missionary Father Hartmann.

at Fort Salisbury to some six thousand feet above the sea. The result of this great elevation is that, though the country is within the tropics, the climate is magnificent, and quite fitted for the residence of Europeans. At present indeed the fever is a very serious obstacle during the rainy season. With good food and ordinary precautions it is not indeed dangerous even now, though troublesome. Father Hartmann, an experienced missionary who has been much exposed, has had forty-seven attacks, and does not seem much the worse. With cultivation and the growth of trees, there can be no doubt this malaria will disappear. The ruins scattered about the country, especially the magnificent ruins of Zimbabwe, near Fort Victoria, show that civilization has not always been unknown to the land. What these ruins were for, and who built them, is as yet an unsolved problem, most of those who know the country well, such as Mr. Selous and the missionaries, not seeming at all to agree with Mr. Bent's conclusions. But in general it seems likely enough that they were, whether built by natives or foreigners, somehow connected with the gold-mines.

The country was thickly inhabited until the Matabele raids began, now the Mashonas are scattered about in small villages perched on the top of kopjes, great rocks strewn about the country, where they hope to be safe from attack. But the Matabele pursue them even there. For the boys of the tribe are not considered men, or allowed to marry, till they have distinguished themselves by slaughtering their enemies. So when there are enough young men available, they form themselves into an impi, or regiment, establish a new village, and then raid the wretched Mashonas, killing the men and old women, taking the women and children prisoners, and carrying off their cattle and stores of corn for their own use. Thus there is no great reason for pitying Lo Bengula and his subjects if they do come into hostile encounter with the Chartered Company and are shattered in the conflict. For the Company indeed delay would have been valuable. War now is difficult and costly, and it was hoped that if the contest could have been put off till the King's death—he is old and decrepit, able to move about only in a waggon—the tribe would be divided by a disputed succession, and their subjection become easy. When once they lose their tribal organization they will be no longer formidable. The Matabele themselves, no doubt, are not at all what they were. They keep up the old Zulu organization, and this alone is

enough to make them dreaded; but as they brought no women with them when they broke away from their tribe, they are now a very mixed race, and as moreover they train the Mashona boys to be warriors, that is, those of them who survive the more than Spartan *régime* they are subjected to, their ranks contain but few real Zulus, and many who are simply Mashonas. Besides their bloodthirstiness, the Matabele are exceedingly superstitious; the witch-doctors are a great power among them, and certain more solemn celebrations are a curious mixture of superstition and cruelty, joined to some remnants of religious feelings. Among the ingredients of a sacred dish to be partaken of at their harvest festival are human flesh, to make the warriors ferocious; lion's blood, to make them look terrible; and some parts of a species of skunk to make them stink, so as to terrify their enemies!

Such was the country that was invaded three years ago by a small force of five hundred police and two hundred "pioneers," the roadmakers of the expedition, under the flag of the British South African Company. It was a bold venture. No less than a hundred ox-waggons carried the necessary provisions and other requirements for a settlement; and for these a road had to be cut through half of the eight hundred miles of country to be traversed between Vryburg and Fort Salisbury, the country beyond the Macloutsie never having been traversed by waggons. Besides the clearing of the road through the bush, the river-beds had to be made passable for the great waggons containing some three or four tons of goods each. Even with the best efforts of the drivers it often required some two or three teams, that is, from fifty to sixty oxen, to drag each waggon up the steep banks, and sometimes all hands had to be put to the work. It was certainly an adventurous expedition, but charity never fails, and it was accompanied by a small party of Dominican Nuns from King William's Town, to nurse the sick. However the officer in charge, Colonel Pennefather, very rightly refused to allow the nuns to go beyond Victoria at first, as an attack by the Matabele was constantly expected; and though the waggons travelled on two parallel roads, to diminish the length to be protected, the line was so long as to make it exceedingly liable to serious injury by a sudden onslaught. It was not indeed expected that Lo Bengula would himself authorize an attack, as he had granted leave for what was being done, and he was loath to forfeit his £100 a month.

But it was very uncertain whether he would be able to restrain his young warriors, and any large proportion of the ten thousand warriors said to be under the King's rule, would have made the position of the expedition very critical. Behind the walls of the forts which were established along the route, the English were no doubt safe enough, and the electric search-light made them fairly secure against any sudden night attack ; but on the open veldt, with their long line, the position would have been very different. Of course an advance guard was always ahead, and scouts out all around to give good warning, but the Matabele are trained to run for miles and rush at once into action, without stopping to recover breath, and the patient ox, with a heavy waggon behind him, can never be induced to hasten his steps, even by the strongest measures.

In spite of fears, however, the journey was accomplished without disaster. Forts Tuli, Charter, Victoria, Salisbury, and later Umtali, were established, and about four months after the start the expedition had reached its destination near Mount Hampden, and the pioneers were disbanded, and were spreading out over the country, examining the gold reefs, and pegging out claims in accordance with the rights assigned them by the Company. Farms also were taken up by many, and on these two lines the opening out of the country is going on. Success seems certain, but the interference of the Matabele is a serious factor, at least in the way of delay. They did not indeed attack white men, but it was quite impossible for the Company to tolerate their asserted rights of robbing and murdering the Mashonas wherever they might find them, even when in the pay of English miners or English farmers, nay, even within the enclosure of the forts. The Company, of course, must consider expenses. However patriotic they may be, they are in the end a commercial Company, and it is very doubtful whether they could have accomplished all they have done, but for the largeness of view and princely generosity of Mr. Rhodes. A telegraph wire to Fort Salisbury, already at work for some months, and now being carried on to Uganda ; a postal system, which for the consideration of £10,000 for ten years is to convey letters from Cape Town to Fort Salisbury in nine days, a distance which till lately was a three months' journey in an ox-waggon, and has till now taken three weeks by the post-cart ; a line of well-secured forts along the road ; many farms taken up and worked, and gold-mines started, or just starting, on all sides,



with the best modern machinery : this is a work of which the Chartered Company may well be proud. Their prospects, even financially, seem very good, if only they can work out their plans in peace. They claim as royalty from miners half the shares in any company that is floated. It seems certain the mines must succeed, as the old workings, which show the extent and richness of the deposits, have only indicated the buried treasures, not rifled them ; and the form of payment exacted seems judicious, as it requires no money to be paid down till success has actually secured a dividend. The opening up of the country, and the protection of the settlers, must naturally call for a large equivalent.

And what are the prospects for our missionaries in the country thus being secured to the British Empire? As far as the English and the governing body are concerned nothing could be more hopeful. The services of the Dominican Sisters have been such from the first that no one who has been in the country seems able to satisfy himself with praising their devotion and kindness. When the first terrible outbreak of fever came at Fort Salisbury, and found the new settlers without hospital, or attendants, or even provisions, the prospect looked black enough, and the evil reports of the country that were once spread abroad, were no doubt due to that first season of suffering. But as soon as they were allowed, the Sisters, with their chaplain, Father Prestage, were quickly on the spot, and though resources were for a long time sadly deficient, yet the scene soon changed, and the poor sick men found what a wonderful difference was made by the devotion and skill of their nurses. Besides this Salisbury Hospital, the Sisters are at work also at Victoria, in addition to the original foundation at Macloutsie in Bechuanaland ; and the gratitude felt to them is a great help to the cause of religion. Father Hartmann, who went up with the pioneers as chaplain, also secured the love and gratitude of all by his kindness, and his entire devotion of himself to the sick when the first outbreak came. Since that he has lived chiefly among the natives. For many months he remained among them, some ninety miles from Salisbury, without ever seeing a European, housed in a hut about six feet square, and having little to eat except a porridge made of Kaffir corn.<sup>1</sup> He and Father Prestage are the chief authorities

<sup>1</sup> Of him the Bishop of Derry and Raphoe says, in a letter in *The Times* of August 29, 1893, that he is "a missionary of the heroic type of Xavier, Moffat, and Harrington."

on the Mashona language, a Grammar and Vocabulary of which are now being printed at Cape Town by the generous aid of the Chartered Company and Mr. Rhodes. Successful missionary work among the Mashonas must necessarily be slow; they are exceedingly degraded, the slaves of grovelling superstitions, cowardly and deceitful, reduced, in a word, to that state which is common to savages when they are crushed by a superior tribe. The best way of producing solid results will be to gather the more promising families on a farm, open schools for boys and girls, and thus gradually form a race who have learnt to work and to appreciate the results of having peaceful and comfortable homes. The very able and large-minded Administrator, Dr. Jamieson, once the leading physician in Cape Colony, is most ready to promote this work, which is, of course, just what the Company want to see done, though their ulterior motives may not be quite the same as those of the missionaries. However, civilization, thus far at least, is necessary for any solid work of conversion. Would that men and funds were forthcoming to carry on this work on a large scale, and thus secure the conversion of the remnants of this hapless people. What can be done is being done by the Prefect Apostolic, Father Kerr, and his devoted helpers; and we may trust that means will be found for work on a larger scale, when peace is secured to the country. The missionaries have laboured for many years among the Matabele themselves, but unhappily with very little fruit. Lo Bengula always opposed the conversion of his subjects, and any sign of friendship with the Fathers was generally followed by a visit from the witch-doctor, and the "smelling-out," *i.e.*, the ruin and death of the suspected man. Add to this that when the Fathers were fairly established, and hoped they were doing some good, without any warning the whole village would be transported to a new site miles away, where fresh pastures and a good water supply invited the indunas, or chiefs, to settle their people. Many noble lives have been spent in these unavailing efforts, unavailing for the time, but others, we trust, will reap the harvest.

These few pages will perhaps give a connected view of the present state of South Africa and its future prospects. By the energy of her citizens England has secured a vast appanage from Cape Agulhas to the Zambesi, and indeed some distance north of it, which we may hope will provide a field for the energy and skill of vast numbers of her population, and thus re-people



the "ruined cities of Mashonaland." For the natives indeed the prospects may seem darker, but in spite of the many disadvantages to them of such civilization as they meet, they are surely better off under a strong Government than when they are slaves to the most degrading superstitions, and capable of no ambition but for robbing and murdering. If by the zeal of the missionaries these poor savages can be gathered into Christian communities, and protected from the plague of drink, future generations may yet see the Mashonas, Matabele, Barotse, and other tribes of South Africa, forming flourishing villages that shall reproduce under happier auspices the famous Reductions of Paraguay.

## *The Catholic Conference of 1893.*

---

THERE was a certain fitness in the choice of Portsmouth for the first meeting of a Catholic Conference south of London, as the Bishop of Portsmouth has been from the beginning the President of the Sub-Committee for supplying Catholic literature to Catholic sailors. There was also much in the town itself to favour the success of the Conference. It would be difficult to have found a more convenient locality for the meeting than the large Town Hall, standing out in all its virgin whiteness, close to the Cathedral and Bishop's House, close to the railway station, and several of the large hotels. In view of the work that is being done by the Catholic Truth Society for seamen, the choice was an admirable one, right in the heart of our largest naval port, and within easy reach of Southampton, which seems destined to become again a most important mercantile town. Besides this, Portsmouth was an excellent centre for the Catholics of the Isle of Wight, of Bournemouth, and of Brighton, and not too far from the metropolis, and the towns that lie on the way to London. Bournemouth was very well represented, but the largest instalment of strangers seemed to come from faithful Lancashire, where, thanks to previous Conferences, and to the zeal of clergy and laity, the Catholic Truth Society has taken deep root and flourishes.

A natural fear must have presented itself to the mind of the organizers of this year's proceedings as to how it was possible to avoid too strong and too painful a contrast with the brilliant doings in St. George's Hall, Liverpool, last October, in the midst of the immense gatherings in that great city, with its teeming thousands of Catholics. But any one who was witness of the opening ceremony on Monday, September 25th, still more so, of the enthusiastic reception of Canon Foran's lecture on the Tuesday, could not but feel that Portsmouth had no reason to dread the comparison. If one might express a regret, it would be at having seen, in a great naval and military town,

the two services so slightly represented, especially where the subjects discussed had naturally so much in connection both with soldiers and with sailors. But every one knows how imperative are the calls of duty, and how shifting the abode of those who wear Her Majesty's uniform. There may, indeed, have been many officers in the audience, but with the exception of Captain Fitzgerald, they did not make their presence known to the Conference.

Cardinal Vaughan addressed himself to a subject whose importance is only equalled by its difficulty. The spectre of socialism, the determined uprising of the masses against privilege, is not to be ignored, even if it was desirable to ignore it. And as all this is too often linked nowadays with rebellion against Divine revelation, against the supernatural, against even the law of nature, a true shepherd cannot but warn his flock, especially when so largely composed of the working and poorer classes, against the perils that beset their faith. The prevailing note of the Archbishop's address, however, the key to the solution, a very practical one, was to bid all Catholics who believe, as we do believe, that faith has its duties as well as its privileges, to stretch out a helping hand to the suffering masses; to come out of their isolation, and to labour, each in their own sphere, in the great work of social reorganization, not on the false lines of dangerous theorists, but in the spirit of that brotherhood of Christianity which recognizes in every man and woman a child, brother or sister, of a common Father, an image of their Divine Master. "We need," His Eminence said, "to make an appeal in these days to the laity, to men and women who have leisure and education, who have sympathy with the wants and sufferings of the lower orders. They must be brought into organization, and so into contact with the suffering portion of humanity in such a way as will, in the first instance, give them a clear knowledge of the wants and sufferings of the people. It was for the rich to show them that they were their true, hearty, and sincere friends."

The note thus sounded was as the key-note of the whole, and gave the Conference its special meaning.

Some might have wished to have heard less music, and more addresses from other distinguished Catholics; but many, no doubt, preferred the music of melody to the music of spoken language, and certainly the Bishop was happy in the choir that performed after his address was over.

The Tuesday was to have been divided between soldiers and sailors, but for reasons which do not appear, the sailors had it all to themselves. At least they alone were talked about. The Bishop opened the business with very happily chosen words, in which he traced briefly the story of the faith in Portsmouth, through the dark days down to our own. He had certainly legitimate ground for grateful exultation, with his imposing and complete group of ecclesiastical buildings close at hand, composing, to quote his own words, "the finest church in the town," and standing in one of the very best sites.

Commander Fitzgerald, whose large and varied experience in naval matters, and very lengthy acquaintance with the port of London, makes him an authority in all work for sailors, was listened to with interest as he read his paper, tersely entitled *Sailors and Catholics*. It is one deserving of careful perusal, as it lays down principles on which any permanent and profitable work for our seamen must rest. In his few but exhaustive words on Mr. Plimsoll, he called him twice by a title of the Father of the sailors, which has been assumed by, or to speak more correctly, conferred by his admirers upon a worthy Protestant clergyman, *Father* Hopkins, the founder of the new Anglican order for the redemption of sailors. That reverend gentleman in his new serial, the organ of his work, takes up the defence of the merchant seamen against the tyranny of the captains, and if what he alleges is true, his cause is both a just and holy one, calling for our support and sympathy. The humblest sailor in the royal navy has always the right to an open court-martial, while a common seaman is too often condemned on the word of his officer by a consul, who may not be always able to secure the defence of the accused.

Commander Fitzgerald's verdict, well worth taking to heart, is that "from a Catholic point of view, no class has been more hopelessly neglected," than the sailors of our mercantile marine. "They have," owing to the temptations against faith and morals with which they are necessarily surrounded, at all events on shore, "a special claim upon us to provide them with spiritual weapons" of defence. He reckoned some eight thousand Catholics as visiting annually the port of London, no mean congregation, and yet hopelessly scattered over the twenty miles or more of the river, and its water-side docks. He evidently thinks that not only is a special chaplain required, but that he must be supported by a body of volunteer helpers,

who should have been men of the salt-sea, or at all events thoroughly acquainted with the habits and peculiar character of Jack.

Father Fletcher's contributions on *Seamen's Clubs* was as sparkling and as humorous as it was practical and to the point. It was an amusing narrative of the opening of the Sailors' Club in the port of London. This is a step, and a most important step, in the right direction. But London has been forestalled by Montreal, though it owes the initiation of the work to the Committee of Literature for Catholic Sailors.

Montreal, the city of our Lady, opened a similar club in their city on May 30th, full four months ago. It was from a card brought by a sailor, who had received it in this club-house at Montreal, giving the list of water-side churches and their hours of service, that the Ransomers, now working in the London docks, took the model of a similar card, which they are now distributing in our great port. These beginnings sink into very small dimensions by the side of the magnificent gift which Lord Brassey has made to the sailors in Poplar, and the foundation-stone of which was laid by royalty so lately. But the importance of the venture is not to be measured by the actual size of the building, but by the lesson which it will convey as to how we may best assist our poor sea-faring brethren in the faith, and what sacrifices we must make in order to do so. For, as Father Fletcher remarked to his hearers, if the new club in Wellclose Square owes its existence to the generous guarantee given for one year by the Hon. Mrs. Fraser, means must be found for its permanent support.

Father Goldie's paper was chiefly an appeal to the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul to lend their valuable aid as auxiliaries in the work of rescue for our sailor-men. That he has received promises of help, and that these promises made him hope for more, was the general drift of his contribution to the subject.

Mr. Costelloe, who as one of the Secretaries to the English Council of St. Vincent de Paul, could speak with authority, endorsed what had been said as to this work coming fairly within the scope of that Society's aim. And if it may be argued that it has enough, and more than enough, already to do; may it not be answered that a new departure, a fresh object of interest, will in all probability enlist new and active members?

The subsequent discussion showed clearly that the need of the work for sailors was widely realized. Father Russell, who has just been appointed exclusively to the work of naval chaplain at Portsmouth, was pathetic about the difficulties with which he had to contend, difficulties which nothing but direct action in Parliament can ever remove. The Admiralty is helpless to improve the status or to increase the staff of Catholic naval chaplains, unless the Treasury opens the purse-strings. Much may be done, no doubt, by personal devotion, by proving to the naval authorities that the chaplains are willing to give up all their time to their work, and by their frequent visits to the ships, showing how much moral good would result if more attention could be given to the blue-jackets. But until Catholics in the House can rise above party lines, and take a determined stand for Catholic interests, no Government, of whatever shade or colour, will give public money to Catholic objects. This has been shown to conviction by the action of both the present and the late Government in connection with the naval chaplain at Malta. What the colonial members have done in Parliament surely could be done by Catholic representatives of good-will, by forming a committee to watch Catholic interests independently of party. Then, and then only, will be removed the just complaints of Father Russell, and of all who take to heart the interests of Catholics in our navy. Personally, as Father Scannell, of Sheerness, so truly observed, nothing can exceed the kindness of all afloat, whether naval instructors, Anglican chaplains, seamen, or officers, towards the priest whom they have come to know and to respect. Canon Scannell's description of the hideous and ever-present snares which surround poor Jack the moment the ship casts anchor, was one that could not fail to move any who cares for his fellow-man; while the Canon's witness to the excellent dispositions of this poor victim, if only he could be saved from the harpies that prey upon him, was a confirmation in vivid language, and from an eye-witness, of what all who know sailor life have to tell. It was reason enough for all the efforts that have been made, and for all that can be made, to save our men. Hitherto the Catholic has been left to the mercies of his worst enemies, and has found on shore no alternative between the Bethel, with its sensational salvationism, and the resorts of vice, public-houses, and low lodging-houses, all leagued for his ruin.

The rather novel subject of letter guilds formed the subject

of the two following papers. Mrs. Nolan Slaney, in a deeply interesting and well-written, and one must add well-read paper, clearly put forward the character and object of this work. The scheme recommended to us simply amounts to keeping in touch, through correspondence, with those who most need a warm heart and a wise head to cheer them and guide them through a life of isolation from family ties and wholesome influences. It is largely in operation among Protestants, and apparently with excellent results, and affords a healthy and charitable employment for the many idle hours that seem to weigh so heavily on some of our young people, and on some of our older also. For the details the reader must be referred to Mrs. Nolan Slaney's own words. Her guild is already in active life, and no doubt any who wish to devote some spare time to it can easily put themselves into communication with those who belong to it, and learn from them the way and means of selecting the persons to whom they are to write.

Mr. St. John Molesworth pleaded for an extension of this good work to our sailors. Any one who has been on a long voyage knows how eagerly the mail is looked for, and how much valued is the arrival of a letter from the old country. The correspondence which the work of the Apostleship of Prayer has brought into existence among our blue-jackets, is enough to show what mutual pleasure can be derived from such an interchange of letters. And it is not difficult to understand how a kind word may awaken holy and healthful memories in the mind of Jack afloat. Mr. Molesworth had himself known so much good to be produced by such letters, that he wishes naturally to give a wider extension to this means of friendly assistance to our Catholic sailors.

The Hon. Mrs. Fraser's report, a retrospect of the entire work done by the Committee of Literature for Sailors, a cumbrous title by the way, can hardly be dealt with here, and will, we trust, soon be within the reach of all English-speaking Catholics. It shows that the Committee, of which she has been the Secretary and the very life, has not been idle. But certainly the most striking paper read that day was on our Catholic fisher-lads, perhaps because it was the most painful. Certainly it was one which should rouse the energy, not merely of the priests in our seaport towns, but call up some organization, if one does not exist, to remedy the evil it so plainly revealed. How easy it would be to enlist, as Father Hawkins has done at Grimsby, some young



men of good-will, and as a branch of St. Vincent de Paul, or of a young men's society, or of the Apostleship of Prayer, band them together to look after the Catholic fisher-boys, few and far between perhaps, but yet from their very isolation so deserving of sympathy. The Catholic public are much indebted to the *Tablet* for giving publicity to the direct and earnest statement of the writer of the paper, who has written of what he himself witnessed.

Here again it is well to remember that ten smacks of the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen sail every year with the fleet, and how bitterly opposed to Catholicity their teachings are, may be inferred by the fact that High Church Anglicans are anxious to provide a special craft to be the bearer of a different message to these toilers of the deep. The great French fishery fleet, richly subsidized by their Government, with privileges which weigh so heavily on our countrymen of Newfoundland, though composed so largely of Bretons, does not appear to be provided with any religious subsidy. So the exile from all means of religion is absolute; and though the vigilance of British authority, and the zeal of the missionaries, have warded off many of the vast means of corruption, which used to render that great industry, with all its dangers to life, a wholesale destruction of souls, yet the negative perils are still there. Too often, through whose fault it is hard to say, the poor Catholic boys from workhouse and industrial school are drafted on board, though between thirteen and fifteen years of age, without ever having approached the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist, and without the strength of Confirmation. "It is a rare occurrence," says the writer of this paper, "to find one who has been confirmed, and rarer still to meet with one who has received the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. Of all our registered cases only fifteen are entered as confirmed."

It is not at all an unfrequent occurrence to be told in different ports, that there are no Catholics among the fisher-folk, but the proceedings of the Conference makes one ask whether a more careful search would not discover many who are, or ought to be, of our faith. Cardinal Vaughan, in summing up the discussion, said that it all pointed to a great need, and to the necessity of seeking aid in organization, which would meet the various claims on our charity and zeal.

After dwelling at such length on the events of the second



day, there is but little space left for those of the third and concluding day. Suffice it to say that neither the papers and the attendance showed any falling off in interest. The first subject was treated by Father Croke Robinson in an admirable paper, who explained the new method of Catholic defence on the platform and in the lecture-rooms, a method which has been tried, and has been the subject of such varied judgments during the past twelvemonth in London. Mr. Britten, and his zealous lieutenant, Mr. King, claimed for those south of the Thames a very fair share both in the experiment and in the successes of the lectures in their own neighbourhood. Father Sydney Smith agreed with the speakers and the reader of the paper that however venturesome the undertaking might have seemed, whatever failure or seeming failure there might have been, the work had emphatically proved a success, and that before the termination of the session both the lecturers and their audience had learned much and profited much. Father Cologan read a technical paper on the use of the magic-lantern in the cause of Catholic Truth, and it was mentioned in the course of discussion that it now played a considerable part in the great religious movement being carried on in France and other Catholic countries by retreats for working-men, where it was employed as a means of pleasantly instructing adults who, as alas it frequently happens, are found to be quite ignorant of the primary truths of their faith.

The afternoon, devoted in large part to the direct work of the Catholic Truth Society, brought to the front as representatives of its two large northern branches, Father Frederick Smith, of Liverpool, and the well-known Father Casartelli, of Salford. When other dioceses take up the work with like spirit and method it will assume developments which its founder, though no faint-hearted prophet, would never have dared to predict. Not less weighty were the words of Father Keatinge, the Administrator of St. George's, Southwark. Canon Scannell's original contribution, "*The Church and the Children*," which he delivered *ex abundantia cordis*, unfettered by MS. or even by notes, was but the expression of what he has realized in his admirable schools at Southampton, that school life should be made for our poor Catholic children as bright and as beautiful as could be, so that the memory of it might be ever a help and support in the difficulties and dangers of after life. He insisted that religion should not only be taught as a lesson, but as a

thing to love, and made as loveable as any effort on the part of priest or teacher could make it.

The reception that evening, Wednesday, by his Lordship the Bishop, in his house, was very largely attended, and must have been a pleasing proof to him of the popularity he so justly enjoys. Not only the spacious hall and corridors were thrown open, but the garden, illuminated *al giorno*, was filled with a mixed and delighted crowd.

IOTA.

---

*A Legend of St. Elizabeth.*

---

ON her rough cloak fall her tears  
Diamond wise. "Father, my fears  
Bid me next unfold," she saith,  
The sweet Saint Elizabeth.

"In God's name, Amen," the Friar  
Maketh answer. Fringed with brier,  
Under alders and grey sky,  
Grey the river runneth by.

Weeping, "What and if," saith she,  
"God should little care for me?  
Through my faults kept from Him far,  
Dole and doubts my portion are."

"Tell me," the Friar saith to her,  
The Franciscan, Rodinger,  
"Dost *thou* love Him?" "Yea," she saith,  
"With my whole heart, to the death."

"Then, give credence," saith he. "More  
Easy much it were that o'er  
The grey water thou shouldst see  
Come to us yon alder tree,

"Than that the Lord God should have  
For the creature whom He gave  
Being to, breath and life and limb,  
Less love than it hath for Him."

Streaks of sunset fire 'gin show,  
Broken in the flood's grey flow.  
From the further bank, behold,  
The alder over the wan gold

Of the wavering river tide  
Crosseth to the hither side,  
And itself in the new sod  
Planteth. Ever blessed be God.

MAY PROBYN.

## *Faculties for Confession.*

---

### PART I.

IN an attempt to trace the history of faculties for confession it will be convenient to separate the earlier from the later records, and so we propose, for clearness' sake, to treat the comparatively recent discipline of the Church in the present article, and to reserve for subsequent discussion the earlier portion of the story.

The discipline of the Church depends upon her doctrine, and as the Church teaches that, besides the order of priesthood, jurisdiction is required for the due and valid administration of the Sacrament of Penance, her practice is to confer such jurisdiction on those priests who are entrusted with the administration of that sacrament. Jurisdiction is called "ordinary," when it is necessarily attached to an office that gives power over the souls of others. The jurisdiction of the Pope over the Universal Church is ordinary, and by Divine right it extends to every single one of the faithful throughout the world from the highest to the lowest. It is also of Divine right that Bishops should have jurisdiction over their diocesans, and the more probable opinion amongst theologians is that they receive their jurisdiction through the Pope, and all theologians maintain that it must be exercised in complete subordination to the Pope, who certainly has the power of limiting it. The Church confers jurisdiction on the Vicars General of Bishops, and on Cathedral Chapters during the vacancy of a see, in which latter case it can be exercised only through the Vicar Capitular. Parish priests have ordinary jurisdiction by ecclesiastical law over their parishioners. This jurisdiction is over persons and is not confined to places; so that the Bishop can absolve his diocesan, and the parish priest his parishioner, in any part of the world. The power of hearing confessions is attached by the Church to the office of Canon Penitentiary, so that on his appointment he has *ipso facto* the jurisdiction necessary for hearing confessions,

but it is not properly speaking ordinary jurisdiction, and therefore though it is *ex officio* it cannot be delegated to other priests, nor exercised out of the diocese.

Other priests who hear confessions, do so in virtue of powers conferred upon them by their ecclesiastical superiors, and this is called "delegated jurisdiction." It can be conferred by the Pope on any priest for any baptized persons, either in a limited or an unlimited form, and either immediately by himself or mediately through those whom he commissions. Bishops and their Vicars General can confer delegated jurisdiction over their diocesans, and even parish priests over their parishioners, though now the latter power can be exercised only if the delegated priest has received approbation from the Bishop. The "faculties" we speak of, confer delegated jurisdiction only.

It is important to observe that at Trent the illustrious assembly of prelates from all parts of the world gave express testimony to the past, as to doctrine, and therefore as to practice. In the 7th chapter of its 14th Session, *De Pœnitentia*, the Council gives the doctrine on which the Church's discipline necessarily depends. "As the nature and character of a judgment demands this, that sentence should be passed on those only who are subjects, it has always been held by the Church of God, and this Synod confirms its perfect truth, that that absolution must be of no value which a priest pronounces over one upon whom he has not either ordinary or subdelegated jurisdiction."<sup>1</sup> From this the Council goes on to deduce the advisability of the reservation to the Bishops of the power of absolving certain graver sins, and it concludes its decree by these words: "It is in accordance with Divine authority that this reservation of sins should have force not only in the external polity, but also before God. But lest through this any one should perish, it has always been piously held by the Church of God that there should be no reservation in the article of death, and so all priests can [then] absolve any penitent whatsoever from all sins and censures; but at any other time except the article of death, as priests have no power in reserved cases, they must try to persuade their penitents this one thing, that they should go to superiors and lawful judges for the benefit of absolution."

<sup>1</sup> *Quoniam natura et ratio judicii illud exposcit, ut sententia in subditos feratur, persuasum semper in Ecclesia Dei fuit, et verissimum esse Synodus hæc confirmat, nullius momenti absolutionem eam esse debere, quam sacerdos in eum profert, in quem ordinariam aut subdelegatam non habet jurisdictionem.*



The doctrine of the Council of Trent is therefore this. The tribunal of penance is the exercise of a divinely appointed judicial office, in which the confessor is a true judge. All judges cannot judge all cases, but those cases only that are committed to them. The defendant or prisoner must be under the jurisdiction of the court that tries him. If he be acquitted or condemned by a judge whose jurisdiction does not extend to him, the sentence has no force whatever. The jurisdiction of the judge may be "ordinary," that is to say inherent, as in the ruler who in virtue of his office has absolute power of judging his subjects; or it may be "delegated," when those subjects are assigned to a judge by the sovereign to be tried in virtue of his commission. That delegation of jurisdiction may be ample and universal, or it may be restricted and narrow; but in every case it is essential that the judge do not exceed the terms of his commission. The limitations of that jurisdiction may be with reference to time, or to place, or to persons, or to cases. Within the limits of his commission his judgment has full force; beyond them it has none.

Thus it is with the priest. By ordination he has been made a judge, but before he can exercise his judicial powers, he must have assigned to him spiritual subjects whom he can bind or loose. If he holds an office in the Church that has jurisdiction necessarily belonging to it over certain subjects, at least in the forum of conscience, then he can hear the confessions of those subjects himself or give leave to others to do so. The Pope has all the faithful for his subjects; he can therefore absolve any Catholic, or give power to any priest to absolve any one. A Bishop has a flock entrusted to his charge; he can hear the confessions of any one of the subjects of his diocese, or empower any one else to hear them. A parish priest has his parish, and as soon as he is made parish priest he can hear the confessions of his parishioners, without asking for further faculties. The parish priest also can delegate his power of absolving his subjects, but how it comes that now he never does so we shall shortly see. And lastly, when the penitent is in imminent danger of death the Church confers ample and unlimited jurisdiction on every priest, so that whilst he has faculties for the dying person, he is affected by no reservations of sins or of censures either to the Pope or to the Bishop of the diocese.

Now it does not concern us to prove the truth of the doctrine

here laid down by the Council of Trent. Our object is historical, not dogmatical; and our intention is to try to trace back the discipline of the Church, and to see in what way her doctrine on this subject has been, as a matter of fact, carried out in practice.

By the law of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, which was held under Innocent III. in 1215, we ascertain the discipline that was in force before the Council of Trent, and the knowledge of this will enable us to appreciate the modifications of that discipline introduced by the Council of Trent. To Pope Innocent III. and the Council of Lateran we owe the famous Canon, which is always entitled from its first words *Omnis utriusque sexus*. This Canon commands the faithful to go to confession once a year and to Holy Communion at least at Easter. The portions of the Canon which relate to the jurisdiction of the confessor are the following. "Every Catholic of either sex, who has come to years of discretion, must privately once at least in every year faithfully confess all his sins to his own priest [*proprio sacerdote*], and strive with all his might to fulfil the penance enjoined him. . . . But if any one shall wish for a just reason to confess his sins to a priest who is not his own [*alieno sacerdote*], let him first ask and obtain leave from his own priest, as otherwise he cannot absolve or bind him."

The full force of this decree we have already seen. The Pope, the Bishop, the parish priest, and in the case of an exempt Religious his Regular Superior, can each one of them delegate his powers; and, as Melchior Canus says, "The confession which is made to another priest by the leave of one's own is regarded as though it were made to one's own."<sup>1</sup>

This delegation can be made in a very large way. A Bishop could, if he pleased, say to one of his subjects, "I give you leave to choose your own confessor." Take, for example, the case in the present day of a priest who is stationed alone in some distant island. The Catholic Bishop within whose jurisdiction the island lies, considering that the priest there is the only one in the colony, that he must necessarily often remain for very many weeks without confession, and that, when a priest accidentally touches there in some passing ship, he is almost certain not to have faculties, might well say to a priest so situated that he

<sup>1</sup> *Confessio quæ fit alteri ex facultate proprii sacerdotis, proprio fieri censetur.* (*Prelect. de Penit.* p. vi. See Ballerini's *Gury*, vol. ii. n. 555, note.)

may go to confession to any priest whatever that he could find to hear him. By this the Bishop would mean that he gives jurisdiction to every priest that comes, not to hear other people's confessions, but only to hear the chaplain's. And so the Bishop who should authorize one of his subjects to go to confession to any priest that he might choose, could only mean that he gave faculties for that particular confession to the priest so chosen. No such concession could possibly mean that any individual was thereby exempted from the general law that every one must go to confession to his own priest or his delegate. That general law is incapable of exception because it is a Divine law. God instituted the Sacrament of Penance in the form of a judicial act, and it is intrinsic in every judicial act that it can only apply to those who are the subjects of the judge, at least by delegation. The Holy See has declared that no custom can possibly prescribe against this law; and that could not be true if it were simply a law of ecclesiastical origin. This declaration was made by Boniface VIII. (*circa* 1298), and his decree is embodied in the Sixth Book of the Decretals. "If a Bishop grants to his subject the power to choose a fit priest as his confessor, he whom he shall have chosen has no power whatever in the cases which are specially reserved to that Bishop: as those things are not contained in a general concession which would most likely not have been granted specifically. And by no custom can it be introduced that any one may be able without [*præter*] the leave of his own superior, to choose his own confessor, by whom he can be loosed or bound."<sup>1</sup> This chapter of the Canon Law is quoted by Suarez, when he says that "to choose a confessor without the leave of your own Bishop is contrary to the Divine law."<sup>2</sup> Melchior Canus says the same in the context of the passage above quoted, and he adds that all the scholastic authors, including St. Thomas, are of one mind respecting it. Therefore, when the words used are "faculties for confession," the meaning is "communication or delegation of jurisdiction for the tribunal of penance."

We thus see what the ante-Tridentine law of the Church was respecting the confessions of strangers. When a man was away from his own diocese, to whom could he go to confession?

<sup>1</sup> Cap. *Si Episcopus*, *De Penit. et remiss.* lib. v. tit. x. cap. 2, in Sexto.

<sup>2</sup> *Eligere confessorum sine licentia proprii Episcopi repugnare juri divino, et ideo significasse Pontificem in illo textu non posse consuetudinem præscribere contra hoc jus: in quo multum differt a quacunque alia lege humana.* (*De Penit.* disp. 27, § 3, n. 5.)

He comes to a priest who has full faculties from the Bishop of the diocese in which he is. Clearly those faculties in themselves cannot empower the priest to absolve the stranger. The Bishop of the diocese to which the priest belongs, and in which the visitor happens to be, can delegate jurisdiction to the priest over all his own subjects, but not over the subjects of another Bishop. He cannot give what he has not got himself; and he cannot, simply because he is a Bishop, exercise jurisdiction over one who does not belong to him. Is the stranger, therefore, to remain without confession till he returns home? By no means. In reality he carried the jurisdiction with him from home. Not that the penitent in any sense conferred the jurisdiction, but that his own Bishop, who could exercise jurisdictional acts over his own subjects all over the world, delegated the confessor to whom the traveller addresses himself, and gave him the necessary jurisdiction. It is true it was tacitly done, but that is abundantly sufficient. The jurisdiction really came from the *proprius sacerdos* of the traveller. By the common understanding jurisdiction was thus tacitly conferred only on those priests who would have been authorized to hear his confession, if he had been the subject of the Bishop of the diocese where the confession is made. In other words, the traveller's own Bishop gave faculties for the traveller's confession to every priest who had faculties from the Bishop of the diocese in which the travellers went to confession.

This is the ancient law of the Church, but it is possible that her discipline on this subject has changed. St. Alphonsus says that "travellers are nowadays, in consequence of the modern usage, no longer absolved in virtue of the will of their own Bishops, but of the will of the Church, which by approving the usage gives faculties that they may be regarded as inhabitants of the place where they go to confession."<sup>1</sup>

This implies a change in the channel by which the jurisdiction reaches the confessor. It comes to this, that as one set of requirements are necessary for the establishment of such a domicile that a Bishop may give dimissorials for Holy Orders, and as other and much less rigid requirements are needed for the formation of a quasi-domicile for marriage, so the simple

<sup>1</sup> *Peregrini, stante hodierna consuetudine . . . hodie non amplius absolvuntur ex voluntate suorum Episcoporum, sed ex voluntate Ecclesie, qua talem consuetudinem approbando tribuit facultatem ut habeantur ipsi tanquam incolae loci ubi consistuntur.* (Lib. vi. tract. 4, cap. 2, n. 588.)

fact of being in the diocese is now sufficient to render the person who comes from elsewhere, even for a day, the subject of the Bishop of the diocese, with a complete jurisdiction over him in everything that regards the tribunal of penance.<sup>1</sup> A person may be a subject of a Superior in one sense and not in another. A man who has come into a place with the intention of remaining there for the greater part of the year can be married there, but he cannot be ordained there. He has become the subject of that Bishop as far as the one effect is concerned, but not for the other. And for confession he becomes a subject by the mere fact of his presence. But this change in the theory of the Church's law in no way effects the doctrine that by the Divine law no one can be absolved except by one who has ordinary or delegated jurisdiction. The change will be, not in the doctrine, but in the manner by which the jurisdiction is obtained; and just as the Pope can remodel a hierarchy and transfer counties from the jurisdiction of one Bishop to the jurisdiction of another, so the Pope can transfer travellers to the jurisdiction of the Bishop in whose diocese they are for the time being; and this has actually been done, as we have seen, by the custom of the Church, which implies the consent and sanction of the Church's supreme legislator.

The law of Lateran required that confession should be made *proprio sacerdoti*, to the priest who has ordinary jurisdiction over the penitent, or to his delegate. The restriction extended to the clergy themselves. Gregory IX. (*circa* 1232) provided for Bishops and other prelates by the chapter of the *Corpus juris* beginning *Ne pro dilatione*.<sup>2</sup> "Lest by delay of penance danger to souls should arise, we permit Bishops and other superior, as well as lesser, exempt prelates, to choose for themselves a prudent and discreet confessor, even without the leave of their Superior." The deduction from this Canon drawn by Fagnanus and Cabassutius, that before this Bishops could only go to confession to their Archbishop or his delegate and Cardinals to the Pope, is simply incredible. The principle was always true that the Bishop gives jurisdiction as Bishop to the

<sup>1</sup> *Advene et peregrini, . . . quoad sacramenta Confessionis et Eucharistie sunt subditi episcopi loci in quo reperiuntur, ex consuetudine Ecclesie vel ex interpretativa voluntate Summorum Pontificum.* (Barbosa, *De officio episcopi*, alleg. xxxix. n. 4.) See however Lehmkuhl, vol. ii. nn. 384-5, who argues against this view at some length.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. ult. *De penit. et remiss.* lib. v. tit. 38.

confessor to whom he submits himself as a sinner; otherwise the Pope could never go to confession at all.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal de Lugo expressly says that the Pope is the subject of his confessor, for if he were not, he would be incapable of absolution; and that Christ has left him this power of communicating jurisdiction over himself to a priest in the tribunal of penance only.

Priests, at all events at some periods, had confessors of their own deputed by the Bishop who was their *proprius sacerdos*. The Council of Oxford, held by Stephen Langton in 1222, decreed, "As sometimes through want of confessors, or because the rural deans or parsons [*personæ*] are perhaps ashamed to go to confession to their own prelate, a certain danger to souls arises; wishing to remedy this disease, we command that certain prudent and discreet confessors be appointed by the Bishop of the place in each archdeaconry, to hear the confessions of the rural deans, priests and parsons. But in Cathedral Churches, where there are secular canons, let the canons go to confession to the Bishop or Dean, or to certain persons appointed for this purpose by the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter."<sup>2</sup>

And again, "As it often happens that rectors of churches and some priests and others in Sacred Orders, because, as it seems to them, they are the subject sons of no one as to the forum of penance, either do not go to confession at all, or go to other Religious or to those who have no power of binding and of loosing them; we command that two fit priests be appointed by every archdeacon in every deanery, of competent learning and of approved opinion amongst all, to hear the confessions of these persons, and we will that our authority to execute this be given to them by us or our vicegerents: firmly prohibiting Religious monks, to wit anchorets, to dare to admit the subject of any hermit to penance without the leave of his prelate; saving in all things the authority of the Apostolic See."

Gradually<sup>3</sup> a wider liberty was introduced. The Council of Nîmes, in 1284, allowed the parish priests and clergy to go to confession to any of the priests of their neighbourhood, recommending to their preference the archdeacons and archpriests, the Franciscans and Dominicans. The Council of Bayeux, in 1300, bound them at least once a year to go to the Bishop or his Penitentiary. This injunction did not disappear, till it

<sup>1</sup> De Lugo, *De Sacr. Pen.* disp. 15, § 2, n. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia Angliæ*, vol. i. pp. 588, 595.

<sup>3</sup> Thomassinus, *Vetus et nova Eccl. disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, vol. i. p. 243.



became generally understood that the requirements of the Fourth Council of Lateran were completely satisfied by a confession made to any priest who was delegated by the Bishop or the Pope.

As yet we have not mentioned the Regulars, but as their jurisdiction came direct from the Pope, who is the *proprius sacerdos* of all the faithful, this is the proper place to do so. It does not seem that monks in ancient times held faculties from the Pope or differed in any respect from secular priests of the diocese in the way in which they heard the confessions of the faithful. This was natural enough, as monks, being members of particular religious houses, professed in fact to such an abbey or priory, did not move from one diocese to another, unless they were sent on some special mission or went forth to found a new house. In those religious communities that were exempted by the Pope from episcopal jurisdiction the Abbot or Superior became a prelate exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the inmates of his house. In consequence of their exemption, the Bishop ceased to be their *proprius sacerdos*. Thus the Regulars could not go to confession to priests delegated by him, but their own Religious prelate gave jurisdiction to their confessors. But the Abbot not being the *proprius sacerdos* of the people outside, the faculties so given by him could not authorize the priests in his community to hear the confessions of the faithful. The interior jurisdiction over the Religious is indicated by St. Bernard (*circa* 1125), who, when returning to Ricuin, Bishop of Tulle, a penitent whom the Bishop had sent to ask the Saint's advice, says, "We are not accustomed to presume to give penance, especially in criminal cases, to any man, except to those only whom we have taken under our care."<sup>1</sup> He adds that to do so would be to invade the work of the Bishop, and even among themselves if any case should arise too difficult for him to define, he would not feel safe without reserving it for the Bishop's judgment. Pope Paschal II. (*circa* 1102), addressing the Bishop of Bologna, expresses his surprise that some monks and Abbots in his diocese should have ventured, on their own authority, against the Canon of Chalcedon (451), to undertake "penance, remission of sins, reconciliation, tithes, and churches," which are *Episcopalia jura*; for this, the Pope says,

<sup>1</sup> *Dare penitentiam, maxime in criminalibus, nulli hominum presumere omnino solemus, nisi solis quos in nostram curam suscepimus.* (Ep. 61.)

"they should in no way presume to do without the leave of their own Bishop or the authority of the Apostolic See."<sup>1</sup> Pope Paschal could have gone further back than the Council of Chalcedon, and have quoted the Canon of Nicæa (325), which commands that "the monks shall not give penance to any one, excepting to one another, as is just."

But from the earliest times the Bishops empowered the monks to hear confessions. Their learning and piety naturally drew to them many penitents, and this aroused a spirit of jealousy, to meet which Pope St. Boniface IV. (*circa* 610), issued the following synodical decree: "There are some who, unsupported by any doctrine, most audaciously assert, inflamed by the zeal of bitterness rather than of love, that monks, because they are dead to the world and live to God, are unworthy of the power of the priestly office; and that they cannot give penance or christianity nor absolve by the power of the priestly office divinely entrusted to them; but they are altogether wrong. . . . We therefore command those who are striving to restrain priests of monastic profession from the office of priestly power, to refrain from such wicked attempts for the future; for the higher a man is, the more powerful he is in these things." And so Urban II., long afterwards (1096), in the Council of Nîmes asserted that monks *plus valere eorum peccata solvere quam presbyteros sæculares, quoniam illi secundum regulam Apostolorum vivunt*.<sup>2</sup> The Pope here expresses a preference for the sanctity of the religious state, and the Canon is a testimony to the fact that monks did hear confessions, dating back far beyond the times of Urban II., for he has but given the very words of St. Boniface IV., who is quoted by St. Peter Damian before Urban II. became Pope.

As to England we learn from Egbert, Bishop of York (*circa* 732), that "from the times of Pope Vitalian and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the custom has grown up in the Church of the Angles and is held as lawful [*quasi legitima tenebatur*] that not only clerics, but lay persons also with their wives and families should go to their confessors in monasteries." The practice was still more widely spread in the Greek Church, as the monks were bound to celibacy and the Bishops were always taken

<sup>1</sup> Gratian's *Decretum*, p. ii. caus. xvi. q. 1. *Utrum monachis liceat populis officia celebrare, penitentiam dare, et baptizare?*

<sup>2</sup> Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xii. col. 369. See Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, lib. i. c. vi. art. 6. This reference is the authority for much that follows.

from the monks; and this has continued to be the practice in the East to our time.

So far we have, however, only the delegation of the Bishop. The Pope's Legates and their Penitentiaries had always absolved as delegates of the Pope, but the first instance, as far as we are aware, in which Papal delegation for confessions was given to the members of a Religious Order, as such, was when Pope Gregory IX. gave faculties to the newly-founded Mendicant Friars. Honorius III. had approved the Order of St. Dominic in 1216, and that of St. Francis in 1223. His successor, Gregory IX., who canonized both St. Francis and St. Dominic, granted to their Orders in 1228, the first year of his Pontificate, the privilege of hearing confessions with jurisdiction from the Pope. *Ipsis auctoritate nostra liceat confessiones audire ac pœnitentiam injungere.*

Seventy years after the concession of the privilege by which the Mendicants heard the confessions of the faithful, it was greatly modified by Boniface VIII., and this law of Pope Boniface was altered by his successor, Blessed Benedict XI., but restored in 1312 by Clement V. in the General Council of Vienne, and embodied in the Clementines.<sup>1</sup> It continued in force till the time of the Council of Trent, and indeed, excepting the changes introduced at Trent, is in force still.

In the interval between Gregory IX. and Boniface VIII. the two great lights of the new Orders, St. Thomas of Aquin and St. Bonaventure, the Angelical and Seraphic Doctors, lived and died. Each of them wrote an *opusculum*, or, as we might call it, a pamphlet, against the impugnors of the power conferred by the Holy See on their Religious Orders. That written by St. Thomas<sup>2</sup> treats the theological objections most fully, but St. Bonaventure's little treatise<sup>3</sup> is the most interesting, as it gives the fullest insight into the condition of the clergy when God raised up St. Dominic and St. Francis. In passing we may observe that St. Bonaventure, who has the strongest remarks to make about the state of things "in these parts," meaning Italy, and elsewhere says that there are some parts of the world, "as in England or France, where the clergy are well instructed, live in a clerical way, and rule their subjects well."

<sup>1</sup> Cap. *Dudum*, de *Sepulturis*, Clem. lib. iii. tit. 7, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, cap. 4. *An Religioso liceat predicare et confessiones audire, si curam non habeat animarum?*

<sup>3</sup> *Quare Fratres Minores prædicent et confessiones audiant.* (Opera, Lugd. 1678, vol. vii. p. 347.)

Both St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure include in the definition of a *proprius sacerdos*, the delegate of the Pope, of the Bishop, or of the parish priest. They both consider that the obligation of annual confession imposed on the faithful is satisfied by confession made to a priest who has faculties from the Bishop or the Pope, though they do not say very positively that there is no obligation whatever of going to confession to the parish priest once a year. The Council of Cologne, in 1280, interpreted the *proprius sacerdos* of the Lateran Council to be the parish priest, and it adds: "If any one shall for a just cause desire to confess to a priest that is not his own or to some Religious, let him first ask and obtain leave from his own priest; yet so that once at least in a year he make a full and entire confession to his own priest, as has been said." In this, however, it is clear that a Provincial Council was attempting to take away what a Pope had conferred, and was therefore exceeding its powers. The doctrine implied in the decree was condemned by the Holy See in 1320.

A Parisian doctor, named John de Poliaco, taught (1) that any one who went to confession to the friars who have general leave to hear confessions is bound to repeat his confession to his own priest; (2) that it is not in the Pope's power, nor indeed in the power of God, as it involves a contradiction in terms, that the Canon of Lateran should be in force and parishioners be free from the obligation of making their annual confession to their parish priest; and (3) that neither the Pope, nor God Himself, could give a general power of hearing confessions, so that the penitent should not be bound to confess the same to his parish priest. These opinions Pope John XXII. condemned as false, erroneous, and departing from the sacred doctrine; whilst the contrary teaching he declared to be true and Catholic, that those who had been to confession to the friars were no more bound to confess the same sins again than if they had confessed them to their parish priest.<sup>1</sup>

The same was implied in the decision of Pope Sixtus IV. in 1478, for when some of the Mendicants had maintained in Germany that the faithful were no longer bound to make their annual confession to their own priest, the Pope prohibited this teaching as contrary to the Council of Lateran, but he added that by this the Mendicant Friars were not to be understood to be excluded from hearing confessions in accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> *Extravagantes Communes*, lib. v. tit. 3, c. 2.

terms of the common law and of the privileges granted to them.<sup>1</sup> Fagnanus tells us that an Archbishop of Salerno held this to be a decision against the right of the faithful to make the confession required by the Council of Lateran to the friars without the leave of their own parish priest, but the Sacred Congregation of the Council declared that the necessary inference from the text<sup>2</sup> was that the friars were not to say that the law was altered, but that those who went to confession to them fulfilled its requirements.

In fact nothing could have been more accurate than the wording of the 20th Canon of the Synod of Chichester, held in 1289, which laid down that no priest was to admit the parishioner of another to Confession or Communion "without the leave of his own priest, unless he had the privilege from the Pope of hearing confessions."<sup>3</sup> It is extremely surprising that in a book published in 1869 by a priest of Paris, it should be stated that there are a few dioceses in France in which "les confessions faites à d'autres prêtres qu'aux propres curés sont illicites et invalides."<sup>4</sup> Leo X. in the Fifth Council of Lateran declared<sup>5</sup> that the faithful who made their confessions to Regulars satisfy that portion of the Canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, that relates to confession, and the declaration was renewed by Clement X. in 1670 in the Bull *Superna*.

We now come to the change introduced by Boniface VIII. Hitherto the Mendicant Friars had been empowered to hear confessions without any reference to the Bishop. Boniface altered this. His law was that the Religious Superiors should, either in person or by another Religious in their stead, present themselves before the Bishop to ask him that the friars whom their own Superiors considered fit for that purpose might be allowed to hear confessions, impose penances, and give absolution by the Bishop's leave, grace, and good pleasure [*de licentia, gratia, et beneplacito eorumdem*]; and the persons so chosen were then to be presented to the Bishop, in number proportioned to

<sup>1</sup> *Extravagantes Communes*, lib. i. tit. 9, c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Fagnanus, in lib. v. Decr. c. 12, n. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Nullus presbyterorum alienum parochianum ad confessionem vel communionem Corporis Christi presumat admittere, sine licentia proprii sacerdotis, nisi privilegio audiendi confessiones a Summo Pontifice sit munitus.* (Wilkins, vol. ii. p. 170.)

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire des Conciles Œcuméniques.* Par M. l'Abbé Patrice Chauvigné, du Clergé de Paris. Paris: Vaton Frères, 1869, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. xix. c. 972.

that of the clergy and people. If the Bishop gave the leave, the Regulars were to receive it thankfully; but if the Bishop objected to any individual, the Religious Superior was to substitute another in his place. If, however, the Bishop refused to give leave to the friars so presented, the Pope in the plenitude of his Apostolic power authorized the friars to hear the confessions of those persons who should wish to go to confession to them. Pope Boniface added that it was not his intention by this concession to give the friars ampler powers than those held by curates and parish priests. These ampler powers, however, soon came in by communication of privileges, so that the Mendicants were able to absolve from all Papal cases, even those mentioned in the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, and from the cases which were reserved by law to the Bishops, but not from cases that the Bishop might reserve to himself. These ampler powers of absolving seculars were swept away by Pope Pius IX. by the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis*, in 1869.

Blessed Benedict XI., who succeeded Boniface VIII., changed the whole law. He directed the Regular Superiors, in order that due honour might be given to the Diocesan Bishop, to signify to the Bishop that they had chosen some friars for the office of hearing confessions, but they were not to name them, nor to present them in person to the Bishop, nor even to say how many there were, but they were commanded humbly to ask that the friars so chosen might exercise their office in his diocese by his good pleasure and leave [*de ipsorum beneplacito et licentia*]. If the Bishop refused, or did not assent within three days, the friars might then proceed to hear confessions by Apostolic authority. This enactment, as we have said, was revoked in 1312 by Pope Clement V. in the General Council of Vienne, and the law of Boniface VIII. was restored.

The source of jurisdiction by which Regulars heard confessions was not changed by Boniface, Benedict, or Clement, but a condition was placed upon its exercise. The Holy See may empower a priest, say to erect the Stations of the Cross, *de consensu Episcopi*, so that if he does not obtain the Bishop's consent his power is null and void, but having obtained that consent his act is done *auctoritate Apostolica*. So the Mendicants could use the jurisdiction they derived from the Pope when they had fulfilled the condition on its exercise imposed by the Pope; and that condition in the words of Boniface was that it



should be used *de licentia, gratia, et beneplacito Episcoporum*, or in the words of Benedict, *de ipsorum beneplacito et licentia*. The only doubt that could arise would be from the use of the word *licentia*, which certainly, taken by itself, might mean the concession of jurisdiction by the Bishop; but, considering the words with which it is linked and the antecedent state of the law, it could not have that meaning in this place.<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to the well-known Canon of the Council of Trent,<sup>2</sup> and after giving it, we will examine what change in the law was introduced by it. "Although priests in their ordination receive power to absolve from sins, yet this holy Synod decrees that no one (even though he be a Regular) shall be capable [*posse*] of hearing the confessions of seculars (even of priests), nor be accounted fit for that duty, unless he obtain a parochial benefice, or unless by examination, if that shall seem to them necessary, or in some other way he shall be judged fit by the Bishops, and obtain an approbation, which is to be given *gratis*; and this notwithstanding any privilege or custom even from time immemorial."

First of all, this important Decree does not affect the confessions of Regulars themselves, but of seculars, even though these seculars be priests; and that which the Council declares to be requisite must be obtained under pain of nullity, whether the priest hearing the confession of a secular person be a Secular or Regular priest.

And next, the parish priest is not affected in any way by the Decree in his own use of his jurisdiction in the tribunal of penance. It is still the law, as it has always been, that as soon as the priest receives ordinary jurisdiction, he can hear the confessions of his subjects.

His power of delegating others also remains as it was before, except only that he must choose his delegates from a certain class of priests; those, namely, whom the Bishop by examination or otherwise has judged to be fit, and who have received an approbation from the Bishop.

The delegates of the Holy See, that is to say the Regulars,

<sup>1</sup> We have ventured in this to draw a conclusion differing from that arrived at by the learned Cardinal Bizzarri in his *Collectanea*, p. 813. His Eminence calls his opinion "*communioem*." It is not easy to see how this can be said of an opinion the contrary of which is taught explicitly by such authors as Fagnanus, Suarez, De Lugo, Sanchez, Pignatelli, Pellizzarius, Schmalzgrueber, La Croix, Billuart, Ferraris, and St. Alphonsus.

<sup>2</sup> Sess. xxiii. *De Ref.* c. 15.

receive their jurisdiction for hearing the confessions of the faithful as before from the Holy See through their own Superiors, but they also must have been judged fit to hear confessions by the Bishops and have received his approbation.

The question now arises, What is episcopal approbation, as required by the Council of Trent? Pope Benedict XIV furnishes us with two answers to the question. Writing as a private Doctor, in his invaluable work, *De Synodo*,<sup>1</sup> he calls the Decree of Trent a renewal of that of Boniface VIII. He does not mean that the law of Boniface is renewed as it stood, for it is certain that the Council of Trent has revoked the provision of that law by which the Pope supplied the leave that the Bishop refused. It is also plain that the Council of Trent has transferred to the Bishop the judgment of fitness which Boniface left to the Religious Superior. Benedict XIV. must therefore in this passage understand the Council to speak of approbation as something distinct from this judgment of fitness; and he must therefore mean that the approbation required by Trent, subsequent to that judgment, is the same as that leave for which the law of Boniface required the Regulars to apply to the Bishop. In other words, the *approbatio Episcopi* of the Council of Trent means exactly the same as the *licentia, gratia, et beneplacitum Episcopi* of Boniface VIII. Indeed Benedict links the words of Trent and of Boniface together, "Hanc porro approbationem seu licentiam," treating them as absolutely synonymous.

It is not, however, usual to regard the judgment of fitness and approbation as two different things. Indeed writers often regard the first as an adequate definition of the second. Great moralists like St. Alphonsus and great canonists like Ferraris have fallen into this mistake: for mistake it is, as Benedict XIV. shows us. Speaking later on as Pope, in the Brief, *Apostolicum ministerium*, in 1753, that regulated so many things for England, he gives a definition of approbation which includes both the judgment of fitness and the leave to hear confessions. "Approbation includes two acts, of which the first belongs to the understanding and the other to the will. It is the work of the understanding, on finding the due and needful knowledge in the person examined, to regard him as fit to fulfil the office of confessor. But it belongs to the will only to give a full and free leave to hear confessions," that is, to make use of the juris-

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ix. c. 16, n. 7.

diction for that purpose derived through the Regular Superior from the Holy Sec.

The difference between the two views taken by Benedict XIV. is simply verbal. In both the Council of Trent has transferred to the Bishop the judgment of the person's fitness, before he proceeds to grant the leave which was requisite by the law of Boniface VIII. In the one case the word approbation applies to one only, in the other to both of these acts. The first use of the word is more in accordance with the letter of the Council of Trent, the other with its spirit and ordinary usage. Approbation then (to adopt the second use of the word) involves an act of the Bishop's will<sup>1</sup> besides his act of understanding.

The law of the Council of Trent would have been satisfied if the Bishops had contented themselves with examining and approving priests and then leaving them to obtain and use their jurisdiction as they did before the Council of Trent. But the Bishops, as they were unquestionably free to do, went further, and the custom has arisen that whenever Bishops give approbation for confessions, they also give jurisdiction. There is nothing whatever to prevent their doing so. It has been said<sup>2</sup> that the Dominicans had a prohibition from Julius III. against accepting jurisdiction from a Bishop, *cum decreto irritante*, which would render it invalid. But Cardinal Bizzarri shows<sup>3</sup> from the dates that the document cannot be genuine; and we learn from the Constitutions and Declarations of the Order, approved at Ghent in 1871, that it is not accounted genuine by those whom it most concerns.

One effect of this very natural introduction of the custom that the Bishop should always give jurisdiction to every priest who hears confessions in the diocese (excepting the parish priest, and we may add the Canon Penitentiary, who both have jurisdiction for confession in virtue of their respective offices), is that now it has become entirely obsolete for the parish priest to give faculties for his parishioners. Such faculties, since the Council of Trent, he can only give to a priest who has episcopal approbation, and as now the Bishop in every such case gives

<sup>1</sup> Gury introduces the exercise of the will of the Bishop, but in a sense very different from that of Benedict XIV. He says that the judgment consists "tum ex parte intellectus quoad scientiam et prudentiam, tum ex parte voluntatis quoad morum sanctitatem." But it is clear that the judgment "quoad morum sanctitatem" is as much an act of the understanding as the judgment "quoad scientiam et prudentiam."

<sup>2</sup> *Acta quæ Romæ geruntur*, vol. i. p. 683.

<sup>3</sup> *Collectanea*, p. 816.

jurisdiction, and the approbation expires when the jurisdiction expires, the parish priest has nothing whatever to give that the confessor has not already received from the Bishop. The very power itself is now forgotten.

With regard to Regulars the same would be said if the two jurisdictions now cumulatively held by them<sup>1</sup> were precisely co-extensive. But this they need not be, and often are not, as to the power of absolving from certain reserved sins. As to persons, time, and place, they are always precisely co-extensive; that is to say, the Papal jurisdiction held by a Regular is limited exactly to the approbation given by the Bishop as to its duration, as to the places in which it can be exercised, and as to the secular persons who are included in it, so that the absolution would be null and void if it were not in accordance with the terms of the approbation. But jurisdiction with respect to sins is not, so to say, measured by the approbation. The Bishop may confer on the Regular jurisdiction over his own reserved cases, which the Pope certainly does not give: and the Pope may and does confer through the Religious Superiors jurisdiction in cases reserved to the Holy See, which jurisdiction (when approbation only is given) the Bishop cannot limit or restrict. We have already said that Pius IX., in 1869, took this jurisdiction over Papal cases from the Religious Orders, which before they held as a common privilege; but he did not take away concessions of the same jurisdiction to particular Religious Orders made for limited periods of time. In virtue of such concessions the Regular Superior can give to a Regular priest this extension of jurisdiction, provided only that that priest is approved for confessions by the Bishop.

We can now see what change has been introduced into the law and practice of the Church by the Council of Trent. Parish priests are left as they were, but their delegates have disappeared. Regulars had to go to the Bishop before for leave to hear confessions; now they have also to go to him for a previous judgment of their fitness to be confessors. Practically therefore the chief change worked by the Council was the abolition of the parish priest as a source of jurisdiction for other priests. With

<sup>1</sup> Now that the Regular confessor has jurisdiction from the Bishop, if his Religious Superior were to forbid him to use it and he were to continue to do so, it would be a sin against obedience; but as the Superior can only take away the Papal jurisdiction which came through him, and not the Episcopal, the exercise of the latter would be valid in spite of the Superior. This was decided by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, March 2, 1866. (*Acta quæ Romæ geruntur*, vol. i., p. 678.)

the exceptions already named, all the priests in the diocese, Secular and Regular, must have recourse to the Bishop for jurisdiction or approbation respectively, to enable them to hear confessions ; and as in these times, at least in countries situated as ours is, the Bishop has the further power of delegating to the priests in his diocese various faculties for use in the confessional conferred upon him by the Holy See, parish priests (if there were any) and Canons Penitentiary would need to have recourse to him for these.

JOHN MORRIS.



### *The Miraculous Statue at Mellheha.*

---

MELLHEHA is a small village perched on high land running down to the sea on the northern side of Malta, about thirteen miles distant from Valletta. In the present article I wish to give the readers of *THE MONTH* a brief account of two visits which I made in the early spring of this year to our Lady's shrine at this place, visits indelibly fixed in my mind by reason of the extraordinary manifestations of which on each occasion I was the privileged witness.

The English Fathers of the Society of Jesus have in Malta a large college at St. Julians. The majority of the boys are "interns," or boarders, as we should call them in England. On holidays and great festivals, when they are not allowed to go home, it is usual for one or two of the Fathers to take the boys for an excursion and picnic. Besides giving them an agreeable holiday they are by this means enabled to see all the antiquities and places of interest in their own little island, or at times, when the sea is calm, of paying a visit to the adjacent islets.

The feast of St. Joseph was this year kept on March 20th. Father Hornyold, the Rector of the College, decided that there should be on that day a driving expedition to the little village of Mellheha, and that two of the Fathers, one of whom was myself, should conduct the boys thither. Mellheha is possessed of two special objects of attraction: in the parish church, over the high altar, is a picture of our Lady, said to be painted by St. Luke the Evangelist; but above all there is the miraculous statue of the Blessed Virgin in an old and deep cave.

Our party consisted of some sixty boys, another Father and myself. We left the College at 9 a.m., and took a rather circuitous route, passing Musta and Ghain Tiffiha, so that the boys might see the most picturesque and best cultivated parts of the land. Shortly after passing Ghain Tiffiha, we reached the foot of the hill on the summit of which Mellheha is built. Here



we all had to alight and climb the hill by a steep and rugged ascent. It was close on mid-day before we arrived at our destination. Two lay-brothers and some servants had set off before us to prepare the lunch, but it was not quite ready on our arrival. To fill up the time I asked the boys to show me the cave containing the miraculous statue. During the drive that morning I had heard from the boys that the hand of the statue was said to move from time to time. Many of the older boys had been to the cave before, but none had ever seen any movement in the statue. In fact they spoke of it as a mere vulgar superstition, treating the whole affair in a somewhat sceptical fashion. For most of the smaller boys this was their first visit to Mellheha, and, as far as I am aware, many did not even know of the existence of the statue. We made our way down the principal street in the direction of the bay, until we were opposite to the church. There, on the other side of the road, is a door which gives upon the flight of steps leading down into the cave. The door was locked, but one of the boys soon succeeded in finding the sacristan, who opened it and led us down a number of rough steps to an iron gate. This is the entrance to the cave proper. From here another flight of steps leads down to the bottom of the grotto.

Some of the older boys, who, as we have seen, attached little credit to the stories about the statue, believed that it was impossible for some occult reason to count the number of steps forming this lower flight. They maintained that the result of a count on going down never could be made to agree with a count on going up, and that they had on previous visits often tried and as often failed. I laughed at this and assured them that their failure was due to no supernatural interference, but to their own inaccuracy and bad arithmetic. To prove my assertion I asked a number of them to count the steps as we went down. On reaching the floor some said there were twenty-three, others twenty-four, while others had even counted twenty-five. Seeing we all disagreed about the number going down, I told them it was useless to count them on our return. As I was anxious to know the exact number of steps, I turned round to count them from below. In doing so, I noticed the last step was near the ground and the two ends of it were worn away. After leaving the bright light above, the cave, for the first few moments, seems perfectly dark; and one might easily miss the lowest step or forget to count the

first as one enters. Either reason would account for the mistake into which they had fallen.

These details may seem trifling. My reason, however, for mentioning them is to show how our minds at the time were occupied with trifles, and how far we were from expecting the wonderful sight we were so soon to behold. The side wall of the cave facing the steps as one enters forms a dark background to the statue, so that it is scarcely visible until one approaches the iron railing a few yards in front of it. At the left corner of the railing there is a gate by which access is gained into the enclosure round the statue. The figure itself is a very large one. Roughly guessing, I should say that it must be six or seven feet in height; and it stands on a rock which rises four or five feet above the ground. Under this rock there flows a continual stream of water issuing from a large hole in the back wall of the cave. The rock itself stands two or three yards from the sides of the cave and about the same distance from the high iron railing in front.

I went forward in the direction of the statue, leaving the other Father with a number of the boys near the entrance. They were trying to make out a Maltese inscription about ten virgins who were supposed to have lost their lives in a passage which formerly led into the cave, but has since been closed. My eyes by this time had grown accustomed to the dim light of the cave, and on reaching the railing I saw the statue before me. I was deeply impressed by its majestic and dignified appearance. It is an old statue carved out of the common stone of the country—a soft whitish limestone. In her left hand our Lady is holding the Divine Infant, while her right hand is free and extended some distance from her side in a very conspicuous position. The fingers were resting on each other and bent forward in the shape of a hook. The sacristan lit two large candles and placed them in front of the statue. There is always a small lamp at the foot of the statue kept burning in our Lady's honour. Whilst closely examining the statue I asked some of the boys who stood near me, which hand was supposed to have moved. They told me it was the right hand, and I turned my eyes to look at it. It was perfectly still. But almost immediately I was startled by seeing the little finger move gently backwards. This was followed by the next two fingers, then by the forefinger, and last of all by the thumb. When the fingers had assumed a very graceful position, the

whole hand moved gently upwards some ten or twelve inches, came slowly down again and ended by forming a beautiful cross. The fingers then resumed their original hook-like position, and after a pause of a few moments the gesture was again repeated.

As soon as the boys near the railing saw the hand moving they began to shout out, "A miracle! a miracle!" Those who were amusing themselves by counting the steps rushed forward to see what was taking place. The other Father was still busy with the inscription near the entrance and took no notice of their shouts. He had been in a different carriage on the drive and did not even know there was a statue in the cave. He had heard indeed of a miraculous statue at Mellheha, but was under the impression that it was somewhere in a neglected grotto on the sea-shore. I called to him and asked him to come and see the statue. He came up immediately and saw the hand moving. He tried several positions, but in each beheld the hand in motion. Fearing lest it might be his own head that was moving, he stood near to the wall, leaning up against it for support, and fixed his eyes on one of the cross-bars of the railing. He then distinctly saw the hand rise above the bar and slowly descend below it. To prevent my own head from moving I tightly squeezed it between two of the bars of the railing, and I can vouch for the movement being precisely the same.

In the meantime I had summoned to my side an English Protestant boy, Frederic Clothier by name, a lad about fourteen years old. I asked him to look at the right hand and tell me what he saw. He at once exclaimed, "Father, it is moving," and he described each different gesture just as it appeared to my own eyes. I was closely watching the movement of the hand, when this boy called my attention to the action of the child, exclaiming: "See, Father, the Child's hand is also moving." I looked up and saw the tiny hand of the Child blessing us. The little head too was moving gently from side to side, and the appearance of the face seemed to change. When the head and hand were moving the expression very much resembled that of a little child crying for joy. This may have been due to my own imagination. However, it deeply impressed me at the time and I thought it was worthy of mention. When the hand was at rest there was certainly nothing extraordinary about the appearance of the face. We

stayed in the cave about half an hour and the hand continued to move the whole time we were there. Just before leaving we knelt down and said a few fervent prayers to Our Lady of Mellhehá in thanksgiving for her blessing. In going out I turned to some of the older boys, who on entering had expressed their utter disbelief, and asked them if they still adhered to their former views. They were very serious after what they had seen, and meekly replied that they did not.

The movement of the hand was anything but uniform. Sometimes the fingers would open out one after the other, and close in the same manner, or again would open out together and close one after the other. The hand too would at one time rise ten or twelve inches, at another only half that distance, while the motion was constantly changing. To make the larger crosses the whole arm from the shoulder was in motion, whilst in forming the lesser signs it seemed rather to move from the elbow. No matter how the gestures varied there was something so gentle and attractive about the movement that the feeling almost amounting to fear, which came over me when I first saw the fingers moving, speedily disappeared, and I felt irresistibly drawn to pray to our Lady. The blessing produced a most marked and salutary effect on the conduct of the boys. Their conduct, though always good on these outings, was quite remarkable and subdued for the rest of the day.

The two lay-brothers occupied in preparing the lunch were unable to visit the cave during the morning. When lunch was over, I asked them together with a friend of theirs to come and see the statue. On entering the cave the hand was still. We had not been there many minutes, when the three suddenly shouted out together, "The hand is moving." To me the movement seemed very slight, especially after what I had witnessed in the morning. The hand stopped after a few seconds, and though we stayed several minutes longer, no further movement was seen. We left the statue to visit the church, which is about a hundred feet above the cave. We wished to see the picture of our Lady painted by St. Luke; but in this we were not successful, as we found that the original is covered and only exposed on the greater festivals. On the covering itself, however, there is a fine copy of the picture by the Evangelist.

The walls in the sacristy are adorned with a number of quaint pictures, evidently painted by some rude hand, representing different kinds of danger from which many of her

clients have been miraculously delivered by calling on our Lady under her title of Mellheha. One very striking picture portrays a scene in which a man is knocked down by his horse, which has taken fright, and he is on the point of being crushed to death by the wheel of a heavy cart passing over him, when the horse is suddenly stopped by some unseen power on his appealing to Our Lady of Mellheha for help. By far the larger number of the pictures tell of escapes from shipwreck by invoking our Lady under the same title. The name of the individual and the date of the event are written at the foot of each picture.

The Maltese have a great devotion to Our Lady of Mellheha. In time of sickness or great danger they frequently invoke her help under this title and vow to visit her shrine in case the petition is granted. When H.M.S. *Victoria* went down, the Maltese who were saved evidently attributed their safety to Our Lady of Mellheha. For I am told the first thing they did on landing was to go to Mellheha and thank her for her special assistance.

On after reflection, the events we had seen in the morning did not astonish me. Many of our boys were very young and singularly innocent. Nearly all of them had received Holy Communion that very morning. It was not surprising, therefore, that our Lady should take a special delight in repeatedly blessing their pure hearts on the feast of her blessed spouse.

Just when about to start for home we were delayed a quarter of an hour by one of the horses breaking loose and running away. The horse was soon captured and we got home in safety a little after 5 p.m. In the evening Captain P— gave an interesting conjuring performance. Most of the parents were present at the entertainment; and as the boys told them what they had seen at Mellheha, the news of the miracle was quickly spread about Valletta. The consequence was that many eager inquiries were made about the event, and in the course of a few weeks several pilgrimages visited the shrine.

During Whit-week I went with a few of our Fathers to see the Phœnician tombs at Mellheha. In the afternoon, on our way up from the bay, we paid a visit to the statue. The sacristan accompanied us and told us that from our visit on March 20th till the end of April, he had neither seen nor heard of the hand moving; but that during the month of May it had been moving almost every day. We entered the enclosure,

determined on examining the statue closely, and were soon convinced that the fingers were of solid stone without a joint, and that the hand was, with the rest of the statue, one solid piece of stone. Climbing up on the rock we submitted the image to as minute an examination as possible. We afterwards remained a considerable time in the grotto, but saw no movement of the hand.

After this visit I was convinced that one had a better chance of being favoured with her blessing either on one of the Blessed Virgin's feast-days or on one of the great festivals of the Church than on an ordinary day. To put this to the test, as the feast of Corpus Christi was a picnic day for the boys, it was decided on that day to go to Mellheha. This time I think we went in better dispositions. After what we had seen on our previous visit in March, there were no incredulous or sceptical members in our party. Not one, however, would have been surprised to find the hand immovable. We were quite aware that it moved very seldom. In fact I had heard on good authority that previous to our visit in March there had been no authentic case of the movement during the past five years. As we wanted to have as much time as possible for bathing, we took the direct route through St. Paul's Bay. We had as before to leave the carriages on approaching the hill on which Selmoun Palace is built, for a long and tedious climb. Fortunately the day was cloudy, so we were not exposed to the burning rays of a summer's sun. We succeeded in hiring the same room for lunch, and while it was being prepared we took the boys down to the bay to bathe. On our way to the sea we visited the cave. This time we were not accompanied by the sacristan. He was busy in the church preparing for the procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which was to take place in the course of the afternoon, and to prevent interruption had left the door open to all comers. We knelt down on entering the cave and said a few prayers, after which we walked up to the railing to see the hand. The Rev. Father who was with me entered the enclosure and stood just under the hand itself. During the first few minutes nothing took place. Many of the smaller boys were making a great noise by running up and down the steps at the entrance trying to count them. I had just turned round to quiet them and bring them forward, when my attention was called to the statue by a sudden cry from those near the railing. Looking up at the statue, I saw the hand gently moving. This



time it did not rise more than five or six inches. The movement too was very slow. After completing the cross the hand was still. What next followed seemed to me to have been done by our Lady to convince us that she had really given us her blessing. The thumb and the forefinger were about an inch apart from each other. Though the hand did not move, the thumb joined the forefinger, opened out again, then rose about an inch above it, after which it descended the same distance below it and ended by rising to its original position. This continued for some minutes. The other fingers also kept moving from time to time. The Father who was standing just under the hand asked me if it would be advisable, when the thumb and forefinger were next apart, to put his own finger between them. He had no doubt about the movement, but simply wanted to have the satisfaction of feeling it by the sense of touch. For fear lest there should be any irreverence or undue curiosity in the action, I strongly advised him not to do so. He yielded to my suggestion. Shortly after this the fingers ceased moving. We stayed some time longer, but as there was no sign of any further movement, we said a few prayers in thanksgiving and then left the cave for the bay.

In the course of the afternoon a Protestant military friend of mine rode over from Valletta to see the statue. We went down into the cave and stayed some time looking at it. Perceiving no movement of any description, we entered the enclosure to examine the rock on which the statue stands and to have a closer view of the statue itself. We felt the hand, but it was as immovable as a rock. As both of us were very anxious to learn something about the history of the statue, we sought an interview with the sacristan, who was still in the church. During some of my previous visits to the cave I had been much struck by his childlike simplicity and fervent devotion to our Lady. To this good man our Lady was a living reality. He regarded a supernatural communication as nothing out of the way. He had witnessed many marvellous manifestations of her power and spoke of her with loving tenderness. After a considerable delay we had a short conversation with him in a room adjoining the organ-loft. About the history of the statue he knew nothing except that it was a very old one. He himself had had charge of it for over twenty-five years. He was able to give us many interesting details of events which had taken place during his own term of office.



When the cholera visited Malta in 1887, the hand moved for nine days consecutively. Crowds flocked into the cave and prayed before the statue the whole night, begging of our Lady to deliver them from the plague. At the foot of the statue, as I have already mentioned, there is a little altar on which a lamp is constantly burning. On special feast-days the altar is tastefully decorated and a number of candles are lit in Mary's honour. The sacristan takes care of this altar; and often when adorning it or trimming the lamp has been startled by the hand making a huge cross. He described in a most graphic manner the different kinds of movement he had seen. And as I myself had observed a great variety of movement, I had no difficulty in accepting his story as true. Strange to say he had never seen the Child's head moving. I too would never have noticed it had not my attention been called to the fact by the Protestant boy at my side. It would be natural for most people to have their attention so occupied by the movement of our Lady's hand that they would never think of watching that of the Child.

From other sources I learnt that this shrine alone was left untouched by the Turks when they destroyed every other vestige of Catholicity in the island. They even went so far as to send oil from Constantinople to be burnt before the picture of St. Luke.

On leaving the sacristan we found the boys just outside the courtyard in front of the church, spinning tops or throwing at an Aunt Sally, much to the amusement of a crowd of villagers from the neighbouring *casals*. As we were soon to leave Mellheha, I sent them down to say a Rosary before the statue. The Maltese are fond of saying the Rosary and Litany of our Lady. Every night before retiring to rest the father or mother summon the children together to recite the Rosary *en famille*. To keep up and encourage this pious practice, it is of rule at the College that the boys tell their beads every day. It was to fulfil this obligation that I sent them to the cave. On their return I was told by a number of those near the enclosure that our Lady blessed them as soon as they commenced the Rosary. After what had occurred in the morning this seemed to me the most natural thing in the world.

This was my last visit to Mellheha. I have simply recorded my experiences there without analyzing them in any way. Of the movement I have not, nor can I ever possibly have, the

slightest doubt. To suppose that upwards of sixty pair of eyes should be deceived with regard to a series of movements, so varied and so frequent, is to deny the value of human observation. For upwards of half an hour the massive fingers of a large stone hand opened and closed again within a yard or two of our faces, the hand and arm made signs of the Cross just above our heads. It is impossible to deny an objective reality in what produces such a sensation. If this my evidence is accepted, there remains the further question as to how such a motion could arise. Three answers suggest themselves: a hidden mechanism, a preternatural but diabolical agency, or a supernatural and Divine operation. No one visiting the cave could entertain the first of these explanations. The idea of some cunningly devised machinery is impossible. The statue, as before explained, stands well away from the sides of the cave, which are of native rock. It rises from a rough-hewn rock and is itself a continuous stone. The moral arguments are still stronger to those to whom they appeal at all. The ecclesiastical authorities must long ago have discovered any fraud in this matter; it would be impossible to dupe them through long centuries. No one benefits pecuniarily, as no family has special care of the grotto, nor is any charge made for admission. It is mostly visited by the poorest of the people, who there plead for more special favours and blessings from the Mother of God.

If we may dismiss the first answer, we may certainly dispose of the second with an equal assurance. Is it possible to suppose that Almighty God on His side would allow so long continued a deceit to be practised by the devil in a matter which so closely concerns the honour of the Blessed Virgin? Or, on the other hand, would the devil himself find his account in playing so losing a game the only result of his grimacing being to spread devotion to Mary and elicit more fervent prayers from her clients? No, the only way by which we can reasonably explain that which we saw in the cave of Mellheha is by attributing it to a supernatural action, our Lady wishing to keep alive at least in this sunny little spot a remnant of that ardent faith in her motherly care which was once the common faith of all Christian lands.

JOHN M'HALE.

## *Christ in Modern Theology.*

---

### II.

AFTER having explained the general ground on which we differ from Principal Fairbairn in the estimate of the Christian religion, we should like to enter into details, but find these so many that we have no hope of dealing with them except by way of a typical instance. We must take an example of what we hold to be one pervading, characteristic, and fatal weakness of his structure, and illustrate from that the nature of the criticism which we wish to pass on the whole, namely, that the work is not thorough, and that deeper examination would show page after page to be misleading because its presentations of facts are so incomplete, where they are not positively incorrect, as to betray him into false conclusions.

When Bossuet argued against Protestantism that its variations were alone enough to condemn it, Jurieu with others fell back on the records of primitive Christianity, and tried thence to prove that on the most elementary truths the Fathers were at variance. Great names were quoted as patronizing unitarianism or Arianism, if not to the fullest extent of these heresies, at least in part and by implication. Principal Fairbairn holds that Bossuet is quite unhistorical, and even radically unscientific in his ignorance concerning the necessities of religious development, when he argues for the Roman Church that amid ever mutable creeds she alone, *semper eadem*, has kept an unaltering faith. The critic's own opinion is that "environment so acted on the organism" of Christianity from the beginning as to diversify its most essential parts. We will try, out of the one hundred and ninety pages previously reviewed by us, to select a fair specimen from which to prove our contention that in the book before us an unmanageable amount of theological history is compressed into a narrow space at the cost of a superficiality which amounts often to misrepresentation.

On page 85 we read: "The conflict of terms is but a conflict of ideas, the struggle towards the adjustment of old and new, and by their use or disuse causes can be discovered, change marked, and growth measured. Thus λόγος has a history in Greek philosophy before it has a being in Christian theology. Heraclitus and the Stoics knew it as well as the Apocrypha<sup>1</sup> and Philo, and we must understand its history outside theology before we can understand its usage within it. Justin Martyr differs as much from John as from Athanasius; his idea is inchoate, partly philosophical, partly theological; his Λόγος is Θεὸς ἕτερος,<sup>2</sup> created yet Divine,<sup>3</sup> appointed Creator by the will of God<sup>4</sup> existing wholly in Christ, partially or seminally in man;<sup>5</sup> He is innate in all, and in Him all participate.<sup>6</sup> Theophilus contrasts the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικὸς almost exactly in the Stoical manner; creation, providence, and prophecy are but the externalization of the internal word.<sup>7</sup> In certain writers the idea of the Λόγος pushes into the background the idea of the Τίσις; in others the Τίσις eclipses the Λόγος, and according as the emphasis falls on the one or the other, we have a different set of terms or ideas defining the relation to the Godhead." So ends this, at best, very scrappy history of the term λόγος, and a like style of rapid treatment is then begun, and almost as soon as begun, ended, upon οὐσία. An incautious reader would in his haste fancy that he has received, how conveniently! the gist of an historic dissertation within the compass of a few lines; while a carefully observant reader, who is painfully aware that he has read scores of similarly compendious sketches, will feel a familiar sense of distress. He will sigh to himself, "Only another specimen of unsatisfying, positively dissatisfying interpretation!"

What displeases him in this typical passage, short as the quotation has been made, is very much more than we can find room to describe; therefore we must again take an extract—this time the extract of an extract—and in it find what is still enough to illustrate the character of the book under review. In choosing the account given of St. Justin's Λόγος, we must at the same time accentuate the fact that we are exemplifying our own case from a point that is not vital, for an individual Father might err even on a grave doctrine; indeed, a great

<sup>1</sup> The Deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* 61, 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Apol.* ii. 6, i. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Apol.* ii. 8, 10; i. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Apol.* i. 46; ii. 8, 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ad Autol.* ii. 10.

theologian of the Church, Petavius, did at times think that St. Justin erred almost as seriously as Principal Fairbairn supposes; nevertheless, what the last-named says on the question sufficiently characterizes that inadequacy of his and that misleadingness which we have declared it to be our wish to make evident, and accordingly we will ground our criticism on the middle part of one sentence thus worded: "The *Λόγος* of St. Justin is *Θεὸς ἕτερος*,<sup>1</sup> created yet Divine,<sup>2</sup> appointed Creator by the will of God,<sup>3</sup> existing wholly in Christ."<sup>4</sup> Substantially this is all that our author, in his terminological sketch, tells us about St. Justin's teaching on the inmost nature of the Word Incarnate, nor does he elsewhere so return to the Saint as to do him justice. Those whose way it is at once to accept what they find in print would naturally, upon perusal, say within themselves: "Here is an example of what Principal Fairbairn wants to prove regarding the action of 'environment' on 'organism'; here is a Christian's reading of the Gospel in a Græco-Judaic light; here is an illustration of what was alluded to on page 31, the triumphant overthrow of Bossuet's argument from Protestant variations by Jurieu and his colleagues, who showed that the primitive Church varied on the most fundamental articles. Here is one of the first Doctors of the Church, perhaps a priest, as is conjectured from two passages of his works,<sup>5</sup> perhaps a lay theologian, but at any rate an important teacher, hovering somewhere between polytheism and Arianism, between making Christ a second God and making Him a creature. Where is the invariable faith of the Roman or of any other Church?" We on our side are not going to contend that St. Justin is always a model of precision in the terms wherein he speaks of the Trinity, for we admit, and from his history easily excuse, his crudities of expression; but we are going to maintain that Principal Fairbairn has outlined St. Justin's position at once so briefly and so misleadingly that, much as we dislike to say anything uncourteous of an adversary whom we respect, we cannot help declaring that he has allowed himself to be superficial, and in his superficiality to become unintentionally unfair. He cannot have meant to pick out only the incautious expressions used by Martyr in order to malign him; but if he had meant so to act, he might almost have done as he has

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 56.<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* 61, 62.<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* ii. 6; i. 32.<sup>4</sup> *Apol.* ii. 8, 10; i. 44.<sup>5</sup> *Apol.* i. 65; *Dial.* 82.

done; which is not saying that he could not have done worse. The assertions of his with which we wish to deal are two, and we will probe them one by one.

(1) "Justin's *Λόγος* is a *Θεὸς ἕτερος*," another God. Does this mean that the Saint taught there were more Gods than one in a sense fatal to Monotheism? The context of the isolated words will prove that he did not. He was endeavouring to show against Trypho, a Jew, and therefore a rigid monotheist whose monotheism offered a very strong point of agreement between the pair of disputants, that the Man, Jesus Christ, not indeed in His Human Nature which was visible, but in His Divine Nature and Personality which were not visible, was God, yet other than the Father. A Jew, full of his belief in the oneness of God, and not suspecting the possibility of two Persons in one God, still less of a second Person bearing a human form, would stoutly resist "a second God." Whether this phrase can properly stand for "another who is God," "another Person within the One Divinity," had not been discussed and decided in the days of St. Justin. We in our age rightly regard the language as in our mouths inaccurate, because in the now accepted terminology of the whole Church, "God" is a word primarily expressive, not of personality, but of nature;<sup>1</sup> and therefore our invariable way is to speak of, not "another God," but "another Person in God, or who is God." To settle finally this important element in the meaning of a term was left to an age subsequent to St. Justin, when the discussion was taken up by St. Hilary, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, the two Saints Gregory of Nazianzum and Nyssa respectively; the latter of which pair composed a treatise with a title strange, as a modern reader may think, to appear in a Christian controversy, *Quod non sunt tres Dii*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently it was not against polytheism that arguments could have been needed, but against some peculiar use of the term *God*. After much difference of opinion on etymology, but none on doctrine, it was agreed to say, "One God and three Persons or Hypostases." This terminology, we make no doubt, St. Justin would have adopted, had it been ready to his hand; but writing in a less mature age of technical language, he said, "another God," to signify what we mean by "another Person in God," and this is the

<sup>1</sup> So St. Athanasius explains: τὸ Θεὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ὁυτος σημαίνει. (De Decretis Nicænæ Synodi, 22.)

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patres Græci*, tom. xlv. col. 120.



equitable judgment on his case, as will appear if we examine his *Dialogue* a little in detail.

Trypho, the Jew, who of course knows nothing of the distinction just mentioned, puts the question to which he wants an answer, thus: "How can you demonstrate to me that there is another God besides the Creator of the universe?"<sup>1</sup> St. Justin, to prove that Christ was God, alleges the fulfilment of various prophecies from the Old Testament, but fails to satisfy his interrogator, who repeats his demand: "Prove that another God besides the Creator of the universe is recognized by the prophetic Spirit."<sup>2</sup> Before examining the reply which contains the words quoted by Principal Fairbairn, Θεὸς ἕτερος, we may premise that by "Creator of the universe," we should here understand, conformably to the usage of Christian antiquity, the Father, not because creation was His act exclusively of the other two Persons, but because the Father, being the ἀρχὴ ἀναρχος, *principium sine principio*, the principle proceeding from no other principle, consequently claimed, as "appropriate" to His character of first Origin in the Trinity, the title of Creator. "Appropriation," we must observe, is the technical term fixed upon by theologians to signify an act, common indeed to all three Persons alike, but peculiarly akin to the personal character of one of them in particular, and therefore specially assigned to Him. An example of such usage is given in the Apostles' Creed which, whatever was the date of our precise version of it, may be taken as a witness that in earliest times *God the Creator* meant, "by appropriation," *God the Father*; "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and earth." After the above explanation, the Christian sense of the question put to St. Justin may be interpreted thus: "How do you show that besides the Father whom we all acknowledge to be the one God, and whom by 'appropriation' we call Creator, there is another, the Word, who is also God?" That he answered in a way by which he escaped the extremes of polytheism, of Arianism, and of unitarianism, will appear on full consideration of his doctrine. As he, in common with others, derived a token of multiplicity of Persons in God from the plural form of the verse, "Let us make man to our image and likeness,"<sup>3</sup> so again in common with others he recognized a similar sign in the apparition of God to Abraham under the

<sup>1</sup> C. 50.                      <sup>2</sup> C. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis i. 26; *Dial.* c. 62, 129.



oak at Mambre.<sup>1</sup> He argued that One who here appeared was God, and yet not God the Creator or Father; therefore "another God," which expression we interpret to mean, "another who is God," or "another Divine Person." The course of St. Justin's argument, in detail, is rather difficult to follow, and incidental parts of it are not very conclusive nor very strict in terminology; but the gist of it is rendered clear by the paraphrase of a French Bishop, who has made a profound study of patrology: "St. Justin begins by resting his cause on the apparitions vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, from which he reasons as follows. According to the constant witness of the sacred books,<sup>2</sup> He who appeared to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, is God; yet He is not the same (*i.e.*, the same person) as the God who is called (*by appropriation*) the Creator of all things. For first, after the apparition to Abraham near the oak of Mambre, the Lord who had thus appeared caused rain to fall on the earth, the rain of fire and brimstone which destroyed the guilty cities,<sup>3</sup> yet so that He did this *on behalf of the Lord who is represented as abiding in Heaven*. Moreover, Moses applies the terms 'Angel of the Lord,' 'one sent by the Lord,' to Him who appeared to the Patriarchs, notably, to the Patriarch Jacob,<sup>4</sup> yet at the same time he declares this 'angel' to be God: *ὁ ὀφθεὶς τοῖς πατριάρχαις λεγόμενος Θεὸς, καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ κύριος λέγεται. Θεὸς καλεῖται, καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται.*<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Moses uses the title of 'the Angel of the Lord' to designate Him whom He saw in the burning bush, and who yet is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. God as He is, nevertheless He is also 'the Angel of the Lord;' therefore He is distinct (in personality) from the God whose Angel He is and by whom He was sent. Further, to justify his interpretation, St. Justin appeals secondly to the fact that in Psalms cix. and xlv., Holy Scripture gives the name of Lord and God to two distinct Persons: '*The Lord said to my Lord;*' 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; . . . *God, thy God hath anointed Thee.*' Thirdly, he finds support in the celebrated text<sup>6</sup> which treats of Wisdom as eternal and creative, and nevertheless begotten of God, conformably with which text He who is sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xviii.; *Dial.* 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis xviii. 10; xxi. 9; xxxi. 10; xxxii. 20; xxxv. 6; Exodus ii. 23; iii. 14; vi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis xix. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Genesis xxxi. xxxii. xxxv. &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* c. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Prov. viii. 21.

called Son of God, at other times is called Wisdom, Angel, Lord, or God."<sup>1</sup>

In the passage of which we believe the above to be a substantially correct explanation, there are difficulties in detail to which we will return afterwards, especially to that drawn from the theophany, inasmuch as such an apparition is declared possible to the Son but impossible to the Father; at present we will only add some more reasons for the view that St. Justin in the phrase which we have undertaken first to consider, namely, *Θεὸς ἕτερος*, meant by "another God," another Divine Person. A reason for the conclusion is that he taught both that there was only one adorable God, and that the Word as well as the Father was God, true God, and equally with Him adorable. "We adore one only God."<sup>2</sup> "I ask you, Trypho, whether any one else is said in Scripture to be adorable, and Lord, and God, except the Creator of this universe and Christ."<sup>3</sup> "As He was Christ, He was declared to be God, the mighty and adorable."<sup>4</sup> "Christ is King and Priest, and God and Lord, and Angel and Man."<sup>5</sup> "When the celestial princes saw Jesus inglorious and lowly in form, they asked, 'Who is this King of Glory?' and the Holy Ghost either in His Father's name or in His own, made answer, 'The Lord of the powers, He is the King of glory.'"<sup>6</sup> Trypho fully seized the magnitude of the assertion which St. Justin was urging upon him, and protested accordingly: "The thing you seek to prove is incredible and almost impossible, that God should deign to be born and to become man."<sup>7</sup> The Jews generally "while forced to confess that the texts really did refer to Christ, which declared the Christ to be one who was a sufferer and an object of adoration, and God, yet dared to deny that this Man Jesus was Christ."<sup>8</sup> Persistently St. Justin kept to his lofty contention: "Did you but know who it is that is called the 'Angel of the Great Counsel,' 'a Man,' 'as it were the Son of Man,' 'a Child,' and the adorable God, . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire du Dogme Catholique*, tome ii. p. 698. Par Mgr. Ginoulhiac.

<sup>2</sup> *Apol.* i. 17, cf. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* 68. Elsewhere St. Justin makes provision for teaching the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Dial.* 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Dial.* 68.

<sup>8</sup> *Dial.* 68. The chapters in the *Apology*, i. 30—45, are devoted to proving from miracles and prophecy that in Jesus Christ the Word of God took human nature. It is, however, to be noted that both the New Testament and the earliest Fathers preach more explicitly, as the doctrine wherewith to start, that *Jesus is the Messiah or Christ*, rather than that *Jesus is true God*.

you would not blaspheme Him nor would you deny that He is God, the Son of the only and unbegotten and ineffable God."<sup>1</sup> This point he maintains to have been firmly established by his arguments. "It has now been proved in many ways that Christ is Lord, and God the Son of God,"<sup>2</sup> not surely in an Arian sense, nor yet in a Semiarian. We end the study of the phrase *Θεὸς ἕτερος*<sup>3</sup> by a passage in which the act of creation is not as in other places "appropriated" to the Father, but being attributed to God without mention of distinct Persons is thereby assigned to the Trinity, and therefore to the Word as well as to the Father, without detriment to the different points of view from which the Word has been represented as other than the Creator: "There never will be, nor was there ever, Trypho, *another god* besides the one who made the world and gave to it orderly arrangement." Unless we are audaciously to charge a man of St. Justin's standing with utter confusion of mind and gross self-contradiction, we must allow that his "other God" meant in the last instance a second god polytheistically understood, while in the passage adduced by Principal Fairbairn, it meant no more and no less than we signify when we say, "The Son is another Person from God the Father, Creator of Heaven and earth." If more at times seems to be intended, we must sharply scrutinize whether in the passages attacked the apologist is speaking of Christ not merely as God, but also or even peculiarly as Man, in which case still more is there an "otherness" from the Father to be maintained. One misery of adverse criticism is that few of the critics are sufficiently alive to the Christian faith of two Natures in one Person to perceive that certain attributes are predicated only of the Humanity, others only of the Divinity: and therefore they assume contradictions or heterodoxies in an author where the errors are wholly their own. If thus we are ending our remarks on *Θεὸς ἕτερος* without any notice of the distinction made, but not uniformly observed, by Origen and Clement of Alexandria between *ὁ Θεός*, and *Θεός* without the article, we deliberately omit the well-known fact, because we are confident that it has at present no relevancy.

(2) There are left for examination those other words of Principal Fairbairn's, "created yet Divine, appointed Creator by

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* 128.

<sup>3</sup> We admit that the expression *ἕτερον τι* (*Dial.* 128), is less defensible than *Θεὸς ἕτερος*: but we do not believe that St. Justin recognized the difference.

the will of God, existing wholly in Christ," expressions certainly which standing alone, seem to bring a charge of Arianism against St. Justin, whereas Semiarianism is as much as moderate critics who tax him with error dare to lay to his account. Semisch places him somewhere between Arius and the Nicene Council.

Before considering the accusation in detail, we must beg that what we have already said in proof of St. Justin's strict monotheism, and notwithstanding his apparently careless dismissal of Ebionitism,<sup>1</sup> his belief in the Divinity of the Word, as a Person distinct from the Father, may be kept steadily in view. Moreover, we must add that there is a mass of evidence to show that in early times, before Arianism, and even in the days of St. Justin, the Church in her liturgies, her public teaching, and the constant confessions of her martyrs, showed that she was already quite correct in her Christology; that St. Justin's reputation stood unimpeached with the clearly orthodox Fathers, St. Irenæus, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minutius Felix, who in the next age quoted his authority freely and confidently; and that to him as witness along with others, the un-named writer cited by Eusebius,<sup>2</sup> appeals against the monstrous assertion that the Divinity of Christ was a novelty introduced in the time of Pope Zephyrinus. "Perhaps what the heretics say might appear credible unless these sectaries were refuted first by the Divine Scriptures, and then by testimony of brethren who lived before the times of Pope Victor; I mean Justin, and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement, and many others who all proved the Divinity of Christ." Tatian became in the end bad company, but he was not always so, nor did he ever corrupt the rest. Again we must premise that St. Justin, who so often declares the Word to have existed prior to all creation, and who is not fairly chargeable with the error of teaching that the Word became a Son and a Person only at the time of creation, is quite right in his general doctrine about creation. For although in it he distinguishes two stages, first the production as it were of the raw materials, and then the arrangement of these into an orderly universe, he never allows doubt as to the first part, and never contents himself with regarding God in the light of a mere builder out of independently existing elements. In support of the assertion appeal may be made to the well-known work of Semisch, who is not inclined to exaggerate the

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 48.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* v. 28.

conformity of St. Justin to the received doctrines of the Church. "Justin," he writes, "in laying down his doctrine of creation, proceeded in full agreement with the Scripture truth as set forth by the Church, that the universe, both in material and in form, was the work of the absolute creative Deity. . . . Distinguishing between the creation of the universe and the fashioning of its parts, he often dwells with peculiar emphasis on the second, keeping the former out of sight, and thereby he has laid himself open to the suspicion of having agreed with Plato in admitting a mere formation, not a creation of the universe, on the supposition of the eternal pre-existence of matter. But he is cleared of this suspicion as soon as it is considered that he had an apologetic motive for bringing forward the mere structure of the universe, and for waiving the question of the creation of matter, and further, that he especially combated the heathen axiom of the eternity of matter."<sup>1</sup> We have, then, two cardinal points to start with, which we must bear in mind throughout; St. Justin taught that the Word was before all creation, and that all creation in the strict sense of the term is from the one God, which God moreover the Son also is along with the Father.

So much being premised, we may now venture to bring forward the incriminated passages of St. Justin, not only those taken from the two chapters of the *Dialogue* to which Principal Fairbairn refers in proof that the Logos of the apologist was "created yet Divine," but also similar modes of speech to be found in other parts of his works. It is objected that according to him the eternal, immense, unnameable, unoriginate Father could not have appeared on a limited spot of earth as did His Son,<sup>2</sup> whom in the Greek version of Proverbs viii., as quoted by St. Justin, He "made" or "created," (ἐκτίσσει):<sup>3</sup> whom also He "begot," and had as an "offspring" (προβληθὲν γέννημα),<sup>4</sup> or as a "work,"<sup>5</sup> of which He was the "cause," by an act of His "will,"<sup>6</sup> in order to the carrying out of a plan in creation<sup>7</sup> under the character of "minister," "servant," "messenger," or "emissary;"<sup>8</sup> so that even before the Incarnation, or within the

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of Justin Martyr*. By Rev. C. Semisch. English translation, vol. ii. p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* 56, 60, 127; *Apol.* i. 63, ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial.* 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Dial.* 85, 100, 127, 128; *Apol.* i. 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Apol.* ii. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Dial.* 57, 61.

Trinity [itself, the Son has but a second place,<sup>1</sup> and is God because of His relation to creatures.<sup>2</sup> Not all the objected expressions are here adduced, but quite sufficient to give the full substance of the charge.

In reply, distinguishing between belief in a dogma and the analysis of its nature, and between a mental conception and its accurate expression in language, we may note that the ante-Nicene Fathers must be expected to have been less precise in their words than the post-Nicene; though even the latter deliberately retained some of the phrases found in the above list, many of which are peculiar to Justin neither before nor after the Council. Again it is observable that about a hundred years after St. Justin, but still before the Synod of Nice, St. Dionysius of Alexandria, when called to account for utterances not less open to suspicion, was able to repudiate the ill-meaning which they seemed to bear.<sup>3</sup> From the very nature of things human speech, which is primarily framed to represent mundane things, cannot at once adapt itself to the unambiguous expression of things so wholly supernatural as are the Trinity and the Incarnation. Correctly to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity—that little of it which is revealed to us in an obscure way—we have by a declared agreement among ourselves to exclude from the terms “origin,” “procession,” “generation,” “spiration,” their ordinary connotation of sequence in time, and of causality, dependence, or inferiority. A further remark pertinent to our reply is, that in very many of the passages for which we are about to put in a plea, St. Justin directly or indirectly is speaking not of the Divine, but of the Human Nature of Christ, the anticipation of which is rarely quite absent from what is said of the Word not yet made

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 56, 126; *Apol.* i. 13, 32; *Apol.* ii. 13. The Trinity is mentioned again in the baptismal formula (*Dial.* 61), and in the Eucharistic rite (*Dial.* 65). Cf. *Apol.* i. 13, ii. 61. One mention of the Trinity as adorable (*Apol.* i. 6), has given rise to various controversies because it introduces, if we take the ordinary reading, the Angels between the Son and the Holy Ghost; but manifestly St. Justin is right in his view of the angels as mere creatures not worthy of divine honour. For a close union of the Son with the angels His ministers, see 1 Timothy v. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial.* 125. θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τέκνον πρωτότοκον τῶν ὅλων κτισμάτων.

<sup>3</sup> See St. Athanasius, *De Sententia S. Dionysii*. How far isolated words may mislead is seen in that short sentence of Tertullian which sounds so awful. “Pater tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et portio.” (*Adv. Prax.* c. 9.) The rest of the treatise corrects this language, while if we consider *portio* as being, in the legal phraseology which is common in Tertullian, distinct from *pars*, we shall have further help. *Pars* is a part cut off, *portio* inheres in the whole. The same author says that the Persons differ *gradu*, meaning in order of procession only.



Flesh; and of course as to His Humanity Christ is literally begotten in time, created, ministrant, subordinate, subservient.

To begin, then, with the passages alleged in evidence against St. Justin, he says that the Father could not be manifested in a limited space, whereas the Son could. No one disputes that such words might have a very heretical meaning: what is disputable is that they have it actually. As a fact only the Son has permanently assumed a finite, visible form, of which the apparitions in the Old Testament are looked upon as foreshadowings or preparations; as a matter of congruity the Father who "proceeds" from no one, and therefore has no "mission," was not the one to become incarnate; though whether absolutely an incarnation was impossible to Him, it is hardly for us to discuss. Sometimes the Patristic writers speak of possibilities and impossibilities, not absolutely, but relatively to the present order of providence. Besides, there is, as we have already signified, the theory of "appropriation," according to which, though the Father is not regarded in the inane sense of the Gnostic *Βυθός*,<sup>1</sup> yet He is considered as specially beyond the reach of intelligence and of the naming power, inasmuch as He is looked up to simply as the Ultimate, wholly underived from any other Person. Now our way of knowledge is not to see direct the essence of things, but to perceive them by their activities; and so not the Father considered in His unoriginate nature, but the Son considered as the term of the Divine Intelligence, and as giving the patterns to all created objects, stands more appropriately to us for God as knowable. Patristic writers often speak after the above manner,<sup>2</sup> and to know that they do so furnishes one key to the conciliation of many passages which seem in turn to affirm and deny that man naturally can know God. Whether St. Justin is exaggerative in any of his phrases is a question which leaves untouched his fundamental orthodoxy. That he does not deny the unapproachable essence of the Divinity to belong to the Word, appears when speaking of the apparition of God to Moses from the burning bush, he attributes it to the Word, to whom also he

<sup>1</sup> The *Βυθός* of the Gnostics was a formless Godhead in which the Word was not uttered, but there existed only *Σιγή* or *ἔνοια*; a real composition and a real development were necessary to complete such a Deity. St. Ignatius of Antioch expressly denies the procession of the Word from *Σιγή*. (*Ad. Mag.* 8.)

<sup>2</sup> "God not exhibiting Himself is not intelligible; but the Son is Wisdom and Understanding, and Truth, and whatsoever else is kindred with these: hence He comes forth and is manifest." (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* iv. 25.)



assigns the declaration so expressive of the Godhead, "I am who am."<sup>1</sup> Next, as to the Greek version of the Book of Proverbs which says that the Father "made" or "created" the Son, if this is applied to the Word in His Divine Nature, it means no more, even in St. Justin's mouth, than "begot," and the verb *ἐκτίσε* looks like a variant blunder for *ἐκτεσε* the correct rendering of the Hebrew *Kanah*. Again "offspring"<sup>2</sup> with us indeed signifies a separate individual; when applied to the Trinity, however, it should be assumed to mean "filiation" in the mouth of so firm an upholder of the unity of God and the Divinity of Christ as was St. Justin; all the more so because he takes special pains to deny any separation of Persons.<sup>3</sup> The like qualification obviously extends to the terms "cause" and "work," if they are understood not of the Incarnation, but of the Divine relationship between the Father and the Son; which moreover is attributed to the "will" of the Father, not as being a free act in Him, but because the processions in the Trinity are not blind, mechanical evolutions, such as some theorists fancied, but spiritual acts of intelligence and will.<sup>4</sup> Another act of the Father's will and of His free-will this time, was Christ's mission to the world in the character of "ambassador," "minister," "servant," all which appellations, however, apply not in their rigorous sense to His Divine Nature and Personality, but only by a sort of accommodation. Nevertheless the Son is "second" among the Three Persons, with a system of numeration that involves no inferiority strictly so called; but if occasionally writers choose to speak of the comparison between *originate* Son and *unoriginate* Father as one of "subordination," their intention is only to signify that there is an order of first and second, not that there is a genuine subjection of less to greater. Christ indeed says, "The Father is greater than I," nor are there wanting Fathers to understand the utterance as true of the Divinity itself; but not on this account do they wish to retract what elsewhere they teach concerning the absolute equality which must exist among three Persons who do not *together compose* one God, but of whom *each is one and the same God*.

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* 63.

<sup>2</sup> Irenæus objects to the *προβολή* of Valentinus (*Hæres.* ii. 13); so does Origen (*De Princep.* i. 2, § 6); but Tertullian shows that such a word may be orthodox or unorthodox, according to the intent of the writer. (*Adv. Frac.* 8.)

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* 128, cf. 61.

<sup>4</sup> We confess extravagance in Lactantius when he represents God as existing because He willed to exist: *Deus ipse fecit se.* (*Div. Instit.* i. 7.)

The fair thing is, as long as we can, to take the utterances of men who wish to be orthodox in an orthodox sense; and as it is false to reverse the order and say, "The Father proceeds from the Son," we may suppose that the *quasi precedence* assigned to the Father refers only to *precedence* in a fixed order of First and Second. Hence it is a wrong interpretation of St. Justin to say that he derives the Divinity of the Word from His priority to all creatures, unless this priority be traced to its source in the essence of the Trinity, where the Father is "God above all," in the sense of being the unoriginate origin of all; of the Son by co-eternal and co-equal generation, of creatures by His free choice at the beginning of time.

We need say little of that last phrase in the part which we have engaged to criticize, namely, "existing wholly in Christ." St. Justin was aware that the whole Word became Incarnate not simply by some kind of union with a human nature, but by a personal union: compared with which the existence "seminally in man" was a comparison not in the same order of terms. He did not mean simply that Jesus was enlightened with the whole Word and other men with a portion of the same light, communicated in a like manner, but less copiously.

In our brief rejoinder we have not proved that St. Justin has never made a mistake of language, nor even that he has never for a moment laboured under some confusion or mistake of mind; but we have proved that it is wrong to call him anything like an Arian, and that there is no clear demonstration of his Semiarianism as a consciously assumed position. Semisch seems to uphold the latter charge; but in order to do so he has to admit the grossest contradictions in the Saint's writing. We are free to admit that a Semiarian must be self-contradictory, as full-blown Arians also were in matter of fact; but before we yield to Semisch's theory that St. Justin held a quantitative distinction of the Word from the Father, we should insist on stronger evidences of the critic's competence to judge. What we mean is that if we take as our standard of correctness one which Principal Fairbairn would not take, namely, the creed that was wrought out in the Church during the first five centuries, then a critic who would pronounce upon St. Justin's case should test him by that creed, and by such an accurate knowledge of its meaning as is rarely acquired outside the patient study of theology in Catholic schools, or at least in Catholic authors. We cannot believe that Semisch has brought

to bear on his work the qualifications specified ; we believe the same want to render much otherwise scholarly reading of the Fathers to be grossly defective in the case of modern critics.

The like cannot be asserted of Petavius, who allowed himself, not without equivalently eating up his own words afterwards, to pronounce very unfavourably of St. Justin, mentioning expressly that the error of the Saint concerned the state previous to the Incarnation, and consisted in regarding the Logos as an inferior god, circumscribed in space and subject to the Father's will.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion is drawn from very insufficient and insufficiently examined quotations. Petavius must have recognized later his precipitancy and his want of advertence to the fact that his author might be speaking of the Son not simply as Divine, but as clothed in finite appearances for the purposes of the Old Testament Theophanies, and as pre-ordained to assume, in the fulness of time, a human nature. Therefore, not only in the apologetic Preface of an editor to which Principal Fairbairn refers,<sup>2</sup> but in his own Preface, Petavius, relatively to what he had written in the body of his work, enters a caution to the effect that substantially St. Justin is right, while in strictly theological expression he may have departed from received usage.<sup>3</sup> He adds in regard to the other Fathers whom along with Justin he had criticized: "Their errors and blemishes in the utterance of private opinions either consist, as I have often said, rather in language than in what is really meant, or else they do not affect the essence of the dogma, but pertain to some of its consequences, or to some modes of its interpretation ; for different authors give their own forms of expression to the central article of faith on which they all agree."<sup>4</sup> Arianism on the part of St. Justin would not come under the cover of such words, neither would Semiarrianism ; and therefore the account given of the concessions made by Petavius, when it is said simply that he allows gross errors in the Fathers, needs important qualifications. After all we may admit freely that we cannot put St. Justin's correctness beyond all dispute. Many of his phrases are at least open, as phrases go, to meanings that would be radically unsound ; but if we cannot force our favourable interpretation of them, based largely on the general orthodoxy of the Saint, down the throats of opponents, neither can they

<sup>1</sup> *De Trinitat*, lib. i. cap. iii. n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> P. 30, note 2.

Præfat. cap. iii. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Præfat. cap. vi. n. 1.

compel us to swallow their condemnatory sentence. Even in the times when a terminology has been agreed upon it is difficult to write upon the Trinity and the Incarnation, as it is difficult to write of the Holy Eucharist, without leaving passages open to a heterodox acceptance; still less could the early Fathers, in their immature stage of technical theology, write so as to compel readers to understand just what they wished to convey. Add that individual Fathers may be wrong in their opinions, especially by way of inadvertent lapses, and we have reason to enforce once more our previous contention, that true Christianity is not to be got at in its completeness simply as a matter of historic research in first and second century documents. Over and above private acumen, we need an authority to guide us; and easy as it is for a theorist to trace, with Principal Fairbairn, such authority as we have got, namely, the teaching power of the Roman Church, to the imperial and legal tradition of the Empire on the ruins of which the Church arose, nevertheless the neatness of the genealogy does not destroy our conviction that the true descent is something more royal still. Theory in such cases must depend on fact; and as a fact we can trace the institution of Church authority to the words of Christ and His Apostles, which formed always the ground of appeal in primitive times. What might have given origin to a custom is one thing, what did give origin is often another. The difference is one receiving constant illustration. For example, M. Zola lately addressed a literary gathering, to which, as a theorist, he pointed out how the national character of Englishmen led to unsigned articles in newspapers, while the national character of Frenchmen led to signed articles. As a piece of theorizing the argument was quite up to the average in these matters—quite up to the average of what passes for a critical theory of ecclesiastical institutions. But a few days later *The Times* appealed to fact and said: "The origin of signed articles, so far from being the result of French temperament and choice, dates from a law of Napoleon III., designed to prevent independent writers from screening themselves behind a publisher. The law was one of the greatest mistakes committed by the Empire, and after a short experience Napoleon III. would gladly have reverted to the anonymous system. To the compulsory signing were due his bitterest and most formidable adversaries."<sup>1</sup> National

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, Sept. 25, 1893.

temperament may have made the law practicable, but it did not simply originate the law: so the Roman Empire may have been, and was, a natural means for helping the jurisdiction of the Church to take hold of the people, but it did not originate the jurisdiction, which is so needful for the carrying out of the religion introduced by Jesus Christ. Without such jurisdiction and its accompaniments, we are left to history when we would settle not a few important doctrines, for the settlement of which the historic data are of themselves insufficient. Let history do all it can, and that will be much; but much will still be left that it cannot do, though a determination of the controverted point is urgent. Principal Fairbairn, we contend, has not even done all that history could do for a correct estimate of St. Justin's doctrine of the Logos. To say that his Logos "is *Θεὸς ἔτερος*, created yet divine, appointed Creator by the will of God," to the scholar is very inadequate, and to the uninstructed hearer very misleading. Therefore it bespeaks a very faulty method of sketching the course of Christian theology from age to age, being unfair to readers, unfair to St. Justin, and, we may add, unfair to Jesus Christ, who did not leave His Church without decent provision for knowing who He was and what He wanted.

## *French-Canadian Migration.*

---

THE French-Canadian "habitant," whatever may be his personal good qualities, and, like the rest of us, he undoubtedly possesses a great many, can hardly be considered fortunate in his present circumstances and surroundings. To begin with, he has to contend against six months of almost arctic winter, to cultivate a soil never probably very fertile, and now, apparently, to a great extent exhausted. Further, as in the case of the Eastern States of the American Union, the competition of the great wheat-fields of the West has made farming on the unavoidably small scale of the East utterly unremunerative. Lastly, in these later years, the climate of the formerly tropical summer seems to have undergone a change for the worse, and his lot is about as hard a one as can well be imagined. Even the patient, unwearying, plodding industry which he has inherited from his Norman ancestors of "Old France" is of but little avail under such a combination of adverse circumstances.

But over and beyond what may be called the physical disadvantages of his position, there are others to be taken into account which, if less tangible, are none the less irksome and none the less real. Racially, and religiously, the French-Canadian has come to be out of his element in the land which he first colonized. True, he belongs to the race which is, numerically, in the majority in the colony of his choice; but, slowly and surely, he sees all real political and social power passing into the hands of the Federal Government at Ottawa, which Government, not without fair show of reason, he suspects of being "run" in the interest of his "conquerors."

With these "conquerors" whose "conquest" he strenuously denies, but of which he feels the effects keenly, bitterly, and constantly, he does not, and apparently cannot, amalgamate. John Bull professes in these days of "toleration"—otherwise indifference—to be superior to all racial and religious "bigotry;" but that must be surely when the alien race, or still worse, the

alien religion, is not thrust too closely on his notice. Where he is brought into daily contact, and particularly into political and religious rivalry with both, his bigotry and his imagined superiority to all other living beings are apt to assert themselves somewhat strongly, and in a manner not exactly calculated to soothe the feelings of the other party.

In Canada, as in India (if my French-Canadian friends will permit the comparison), the Englishman does not—with exceptions so rare as to be of no practical account—intermarry with his French “fellow-citizens;” which word, like many others, may mean much or little, according to the exigencies of politics. Nor does he seem at all anxious to learn their religion. In this it may be said he is only proving himself true to his traditions, since Rome a thousand years ago, found herself obliged to send a special mission to the sturdy and doubtless “superior” Saxons, who had refused to compromise their dignity by learning the religion of the conquered Britons. Now, as then, the two races remain distinct, and as it were, insoluble and incompatible elements in one of the most curious political problems of Greater Britain.

That the French-Canadian, as the first settler on whom was laid the arduous task of opening up to civilization the fair land of “New France,” has not been at all fairly or justly treated, I do not, I must confess, see how any one not robbed of all sense of justice by bigotry, racial or religious, or both together, can attempt to deny. Treaties made with the avowed object of keeping the French-Canadians from joining forces with the American revolutionists, have been observed in the letter and broken in the spirit. That they, as the more numerous race in Quebec, as well as in right of priority of possession, should expect to be, and, as a matter-of fact, should assert themselves as the preponderating influence in their own province, is only after all what might be expected; and their English “fellow-citizens,” where the conditions are reversed, are not slow to return the compliment. In politics, if not in ordinary life, the rule of “every man for himself and devil take the hindmost” is certainly an active and a dominant principle.

Did the matter only rest there, Ontario, in the race for “development of political influence,” might balance Quebec, and Quebec Ontario; the “Anglican-Presbyterian, generically Protestant Church” might off-set, if the expression be permissible, the “Roman Church” in the contest for supremacy.



That there is such a contest is not to be gainsaid ; it is surely perfectly natural and perfectly legitimate. But the power and influence of the Federal Government has to be taken into account ; as also the exceedingly wide, and but imperfectly defined limits of its authority to interfere with, and, on cause shown (by the right party), to override the enactments of the Provincial Legislatures.

Now to the French-Canadian, his religion and the bygone glories and triumphs of his race are as heartily dear as they could possibly be, even to an Englishman. Hence, when he has cause, more or less real, to believe that both his race and his religion are in danger of being superseded by an alien race and an alien religion — as far as pre-eminence and predominance are concerned—it is hardly to be wondered at that we hear his discontent and his dissatisfaction somewhat strenuously expressed. It is certain that John Bull himself would do the like, under similar circumstances.

So much by way of introduction. The French-Canadian, both from his physical and from his politico-religious surroundings and circumstances, is discontented, restless, and ill at ease. It is, therefore, only to be expected that he should give expression to, or rather, be impelled by these conditions of mind and body, in just those peculiar directions which are suitable to his education, his religious ideas, and his temperament. That is to say, that his temporal discomfort, the comparative failure of his farming enterprises, and the pressure of hard times, and of want of money, urge him in the direction of the factories of the New England States. There, at least, he can gain some sort of a livelihood ; he finds himself surrounded by numbers of his compatriots ; if he desires to be religious, as, to his credit be it said, is generally the case, he has at hand his church and his own French-speaking priest. But it must be admitted that temporal interests form with him, as with most of us, the ruling motive of his migration ; that he was, and to some extent is, in danger of growing lax in the practice of his religion, as is apt to be the case with a man but partly educated, and of all men in these modern times perhaps the most strongly influenced by habit and by custom.

In the New England factories, which constitute for him an entirely new moral, mental, and physical sphere, he is exposed to several very serious dangers to his faith, to his morals, and to his health. To his faith, as being brought in contact with

Protestant and irreligious Americans, as also by being set free from that close supervision by his parish priest to which he had been accustomed in his native place. Should the priest in his new home prove to be of any other nationality than his own, he is but too prone to excuse himself from strict attendance to his religious duties on the plausible plea, *Que je ne comprends pas ce que M. le Curé dit.* To discuss the point thoroughly would bring up the much-vexed subject of "Nationalism in Religion" with which the Catholic Church in America has found herself compelled to deal, but which would be obviously out of place here. It is sufficient to say that it constitutes a real danger to the faith of the emigrated "habitant," that the Church, both in Canada and in the United States, conscious that it is so, has striven to deal with it to the very utmost of her ability, and under very difficult conditions.

The danger to the morals of the exiled French-Canadian follows, as a matter of course, upon the danger to his faith, and is due to very similar causes. It is a fact not, perhaps, sufficiently clearly recognized that, in the case of the vast majority of men and women, circumstances, training, habit, surroundings, and, not by any means least, the opinions of their neighbours, have a restraining influence only second to that of religion itself. If that statement should seem to challenge a denial, or condemnation as an obvious truism, I can only say that it has been pointed out to me as so strikingly illustrated in the case under consideration, that I venture to insist on it as worthy of more than passing attention.

If we look at the matter a little more closely, it will be seen that the reasons for this condition of affairs is plain enough. In his native village, or on his farm, the "habitant" is, as it were, under the immediate eye of "Monsieur le Curé" himself, who certainly does exercise over the great majority of his parishioners a most effectual and a most benevolent despotism, in things temporal as well as in spirituals. He is also known by name and by family history to a large and intimate circle of neighbours, who, as neighbours have a way of doing all over the habitable globe, take a lively and personal interest in all that he says and does. Such influences, in the case of men but partially educated, and who are as much the slaves of habit and of custom as the rustics of an English village fifty years ago, are stronger than can be easily calculated, while they are present. It is the inherent weakness of all such influences that

they are apt to lose their effect, in a longer or shorter interval of time, if their subject be removed beyond their reach.

Certainly, the French-Canadian, transported from his own village where every one knows every one else, to a large town where he is only one item in a crowd of other items of humanity, is not so well fitted as he might be to contend against the more obvious, or the more insidious dangers of city life. The old restraints, effectual enough in their proper place, being entirely absent, it demands from him more than an average strength of character to resist the temptations to which he is exposed. However closely he may cling to the society of his compatriots, there cannot, from the nature of the case, be the same intimacy, the same mutual neighbourly criticism, as in a Canadian village. The society of those outside his faith, in threatening the stability of that faith, must also tend to undermine his moral character. "Monsieur le Curé" is not quite so close to his daily life, money is more easily come by, and so is drink; moreover, neither "Monsieur le Curé," nor any of his more inquisitive neighbours, can keep track of how often he indulges in *un petit coup*.

On the dangers to his physical health involved in the change from the free, open-air life of his farm to the confinement of a city street and the still closer confinement and the sedentary occupation of factory-work, it is surely not necessary to enlarge here. This secondary introduction, so to speak, has already exceeded all reasonable limits, and it becomes a matter of ordinary politeness to proceed to the subject in hand.

It is too obvious to require more than the mere fact of mention that the authorities, both in Church and State, in Canada, should be perfectly aware of the dangers and disadvantages to both themselves and the "habitant" himself, consequent on a large and ever-increasing migration to the New England factories. That both Church and State, each according to its several interests, and by its own methods, should seek to prevent this migration, is only what they might be expected to do, being each directed by sensible men, alive to the many problems involved. The Church, anxious for the spiritual and temporal welfare of her children, is naturally the first to undertake the task of finding a remedy, and this is only what would seem the most natural course of things to every loyal Catholic. The State has her own interests to subserve; the "leakage" from Canada into the States is a

serious menace to the prosperity and growth of the Colony generally, and a possible factor in bringing about the so-called "manifest destiny" of ultimate annexation. That the interests of the State should be to a great extent identical with those of the Church, is no unusual occurrence, and to those who realize vividly that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men," is something to be very thankful for, to be used as far as may be possible or lawful.

Recognizing that the tendency to migration is a fact, and not a passing incident, that the causes of it are real, deep-seated and permanent, that, in some form or another, it "has come to stay," and must be seriously dealt with—both Church and State have bent all their energies to a task which seems destined to prove one by no means easy of accomplishment. Without attempting to assign any special reasons for such a course of inaction, without for a moment seeming to attach blame to a very natural and very human oversight, the fact remains clear and distinct that a very marked movement in the direction of the New England States has set in, for quite a considerable period of time before anything was done by either Church or State to check the stream of migration. Such a stream once started, that is to say, such a race as the French-Canadian "habitants" having once formed the habit of going, year after year, to certain well-known localities, and there, on their own account, establishing what may fairly be called unofficial colonies, it is manifestly no light undertaking to attempt to change such a habit and such a course after each has lasted for a long time.

But the attempt having become unmistakeably a matter of duty, the Church was not slow in taking up the task, and, though not exactly a question of "practical politics," it was seen to be, to the French-Canadians, one of self-preservation. We say nothing of what would have been, on the part of the State, its true policy, namely, that it should on its part endeavour to direct at least, if it could not altogether prevent, a migration which was assuming alarming proportions. There was a distinct attempt on the part of the Protestant and British party in the Federal Government to repeat in a new province, and under conditions which seemed to promise a better chance of success, its old policy towards the French language and the French religion. This made the duty of the Church clear and unmistakeable, but that it should also have rendered it more

attractive to those whom she sought to influence by appealing to the second strongest motive in the nature of the "habitant," namely, his ardent love of race and language, is not so much strange as a simple example of the way in which men, against their will, are used to bring about the all-wise purposes of God.

In other words, the Ottawa Government, having promised to the French in Manitoba, at the time of the federation of that province to the rest of the Dominion, the free exercise of their religion, and the use of the French language in the schools, have made but a half-hearted, and apparently insincere resistance to the action of the Protestant party in the Provincial Legislature in the action it took to the prejudice of both, and especially against the use of French in the schools. Whatever may be said for or against the policy and advisability of maintaining, in a British colony, the use of an alien language, or of the example of the United States in endeavouring, to the utmost of their ability, to discourage the use of German, the fact remains that the French of Manitoba, like those of Quebec, can claim a distinct and unambiguous enactment in their favour, and an equally distinct and unmistakeable infringement of it.

It was the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is, to all intents and purposes, a Government enterprise, that began a propaganda of migration among the compatriots of those French-Canadians whom the Manitoba Government, with the tacit connivance of their fellow-Protestants at Ottawa, were treating so unfairly, and endeavouring to "Anglicize" willy-nilly, in speech, if not in religion. The French were absolutely convinced that the blow was aimed at religion as well, and that the combined effect of State control and the use of English in the schools would be to gradually rob their children of their faith. Hence when the Canadian Pacific Railway tried to induce them to take up free grants of land in their territory in Manitoba, the clergy of the province of Quebec were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered. Manifestly, the more French-Canadians there should be in Manitoba, the less chance would the Protestant party in that province have of carrying, by a seemingly overwhelming majority of ballots, the anti-French, anti-Catholic legislation on which they had set their hearts. Obviously if the "habitant," from the difficulty of his monetary conditions, must needs emigrate, as, indeed, he was all the time doing, to a strange land, where he was exposed

to religious, moral, racial, and physical dangers, he must be persuaded, warned, encouraged to migrate to a new home within the borders of the Dominion; where he would resume, under more favourable circumstances, that life of farming for which by inheritance, by training, and by constitution, he was best fitted.

That a practical, utilitarian, mundane motive of temporal expediency should have weight in determining the line of action to be taken by the local Church authorities in dealing with a problem in which the religious element was certainly paramount, may seem, at first, somewhat beneath the dignity of the high calling of those concerned in it. But a little more careful investigation will make sufficiently plain the reason and the ample justification of such a course, if, indeed, justification be required, except by those outside the Church. As the stringency of his pecuniary, and generally, of his temporal conditions, was the chief cause which induced the home-loving, not very easily moved "habitant" to leave home, and farm, and surroundings, for a life totally strange, and, on the face of it, uncongenial in every way, so it is evident that whatever the moral and physical dangers consequent on such a migration, the Church, however great her undoubted influence, could not hope to stem such a movement by mere force of pointing out to the "habitant" the risks incurred by what he was doing. The practical answer was only too plainly obvious, and very much to the purpose, *Monsieur le Curé, il faut vivre.*

Thus it came about that, when the necessity for some decided and unanimous action on the part of the clergy of the province of Quebec was absolute and imperative; not only to check, if possible, the stream of migration out of a Catholic country into one with but little religion, and that little the most extreme, and at the same time, the most "variant" Protestantism; from a healthy farm life to the unhealthy occupation of factory labour; from the restraints, wholesome and salutary, of the immediate society of the parish priest, and of Catholic neighbours, to the license of life in a city: those to whom God and the Church had given the charge of these souls in danger, naturally looked about for some lawful temporal motive whereby to enforce their advice. When such a motive was found in the undoubted advantages offered by the free farms of Manitoba; and when to this selfish, but perfectly legitimate and praiseworthy motive of self-betterment were added the higher and



nobler inducements of religion in danger, and of race and language threatened with practical effacement for lack of voting power, the "Propaganda of Migration" became complete, and offered every reasonable hope of success.

This is the propaganda with which, through a somewhat unusual chain of circumstances, I was brought into contact during a winter spent in the province of Quebec. I was led by a very natural, and, as it happened, a very personal interest, to make a close and careful study, both of the original migration, its causes, its effects, its dangers, its attractions, as also of the remedies proposed, on the one hand, by the Church authorities, and on the other by those of the State. That they should have proved to be practically identical, only made the study a more fascinating one: and, if I may be allowed to say so, impressed me with the idea that it might prove of more than a passing interest to others. The struggle for the maintenance, pure and incorrupt, of the Catholic Faith inherited from their Norman ancestors, in the midst of an alien, if not a hostile race, is surely worthy of very earnest attention on the part of all Catholics. We must not forget that the English are supreme in all that pertains to the real government of the country outside of the province which, from climatic causes, and from the inadaptability of the French peasant to modern agricultural conditions, is not on a level of temporal and financial prosperity with other parts of the Dominion.

It is a curious fact in history that, driven by the pressing need of actual want, the French-Canadian "habitants" should, against what is evidently their "bent" have migrated, in large numbers, to an alien, and a Protestant country, to an occupation utterly unsuitable and wholly uncongenial. That, at the call of their spiritual guides, and for love of religion, race, and language, they should begin to turn from a migration of many years' duration in another direction is surely not an ordinary nor a trifling episode. In so doing, they not only benefit themselves and their compatriots, but, by taking advantage of the inducements offered, to all intents and purposes, by the Government which has allowed, if it has not encouraged, the persecution of their friends, their religion, and their language, they have made use of these facilities to oppose, by their votes, in the most lawful and constitutional manner, the designs of their Protestant and English-speaking adversaries.



This is, I cannot help thinking, one of the most striking instances of the working of the providence of God in behalf of those who are loyal to His Church, that has ever fallen under my notice. Incidentally, in conclusion, the intimate connection between loyalty to the Church and fidelity to race and to language, merits some attention. It is, undoubtedly, an active cause of persecution, but loyalty to the one does, certainly, strengthen loyalty to the other. Devotion to race and to language has, in the present instance, proved a powerful motive in influencing the "habitant" to listen to the advice of his priests on the one hand, and of self-interest on the other. Manitoba is *bien loin* to the hazy geographical conceptions of the farmer in the province of Quebec; even his undeniable devotion to his Church could not altogether have outweighed the difference of distance between the New England factories and the prairie farms of the North-West; between the comparatively easy way of earning money in the former, and the inevitable hardships—which none know better than he—of life on the latter. But tell him that his language is in danger, that those of his race are being unjustly treated by the alien English, and you will find him ready and willing to do all that you ask of him, even at the cost of giving up a habit of long standing, and of undergoing not a few hardships. Though, in this case, he is in race an alien, and those of our kin and speech are the masters of the situation, surely for his loyalty to that religion which is above race, and speech, and country, we should not withhold from him our hearty sympathy.

FRANCIS W. GREY.

### *Reunion at the Birmingham Church Congress.*

---

WE all remember how the Bishop of Worcester met some leading Nonconformist ministers last year at Grindelwald, and discussed with them the possibilities of a reunion of their communion with his own. We may remember too the terms—"the large and liberal terms," as they were styled—which the Bishop offered for the consideration of the Nonconformists, deeming himself entitled to recommend them as covered by the sanction of the last Pan-Anglican Conference. He declared his own personal belief that episcopacy, though a very ancient and the most desirable form of Church government, was nevertheless not essential to the status of a Church, or to the validity of its sacraments. And he assured the Nonconformists present that this his own personal view was shared by a fair half of the Anglican body, was perfectly consistent with the formularies of their Church, and was even that most in keeping with her earliest and best established traditions. As on other points of doctrine, there is little appreciable difference of belief between the Low Churchmen and the Nonconformists, and as many of the latter are said to be coming round to the view that episcopacy, taken as a mere form of government and not as an exclusive channel of mystic gifts, is on the whole the most advantageous system, Dr. Perowne pressed on his Nonconformist friends to consider whether there was after all any sufficient reason for continuing the policy of separate denominations, anything to prevent the termination of the present sad divisions by their return to the great national Church. If they could overcome the feeling that acceptance of episcopal ordination involved a slur on their present orders, and could bring themselves to regard it as mere compliance with a necessary legal condition, the fusion might take place at once. But if otherwise, the one obstacle of any magnitude he could perceive was the Act of Uniformity, an Act only passed in the second century of Anglican history,

an Act of the State not of the Church, and an Act which could be repealed in the near future, if only Nonconformists would combine with Churchmen in pressing the desirability of its repeal on their Parliamentary representatives.

Not unnaturally when the news of what was being said at Grindelwald reached England, it was received with intense indignation by the High Churchmen. The doctrine of Apostolic Succession lies at the root of the sacramental system, and if the Anglican Church does not hold it, even they must acknowledge that the Anglican Church is no true portion of the Church Universal. Hence lamentations and protests have been the order of the day ever since, with cries of shame on the Bishop who had been so false to his representative position, and had so signally betrayed them.

In such atmospheric conditions the Birmingham Church Congress met the other day, and found itself invited by the promoters to discuss the knotty question of Reunion. As the obstinacy of Rome shut the door to any present hope of reuniting with her, the discussion turned mainly on the possibilities of reunion with the Nonconformists, and as the High Churchmen were in a majority of the audience, it inevitably travelled into a challenge to Dr. Perowne to explain his outrageous conduct.

But the Bishop stood to his previous declaration.

Nothing struck me more, in the conversation that I had with various leading Nonconformist ministers at Grindelwald, than this—how completely, on many points, they misunderstood the Church of England, because the Church of England had never been fairly put before them. But now I shall be told, "Ah, but you did not put the Church of England fairly before them." (Laughter.) That is what my friend Professor Stokes says, and he seems to think that I made very light of Episcopacy; and several other people have said the same thing. I most emphatically say—and I am glad to have the opportunity of saying it in the presence of this great assembly—that I love and cherish Episcopacy with all my heart. (Cheers.) I believe it to be the best form of Church government. But, mind you I am not going to say that it is the only form—(cheers)—and that is exactly where I differ from many of my friends; and when I say this they turn round upon me and say, "Oh, you do not care for Episcopacy at all." I do care for Episcopacy. I do not believe that any Church can be vigorous and powerful so as to fulfil her mission in the world as she ought to do except under Episcopal government. I want to make that perfectly clear. But then I say this: the Church of England

has nowhere said that Episcopacy is necessary to the existence of a Church. ("Oh," and cheers.) I challenge any man to bring forward a passage from any author of the Church of England in which he has said so much as that. And then Professor Stokes appealed to the canons of 1603, but he omitted to tell you that the canons of 1603 are not the canons by which the Church of Ireland is bound to-day. And he omitted to tell you another fact. After all this loud protest against accepting any but Episcopal Orders, let me ask what took place in the year 1610. Archbishop Spottiswoode and three other Bishops were ordained by Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, having received none but Presbyterian Orders. That is a fact. You cannot get over facts. And Professor Stokes quoted Bishop Hall. Now, may I quote Bishop Hall? He quoted one part of what Bishop Hall has said, but he did not quote the whole. Bishop Hall says this: "The sticking at the admission of our brethren returning from Reformed Churches was not in case of ordination, but of institution: they had been acknowledged ministers of Christ without any other hands laid upon them. . . . I know those, more than one, that by virtue only of that ordination which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed spiritual promotion and livings, without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling." And he went on to speak of those Churches, and he said: "The only difference is in the form of outward administration; wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it according to our several apprehension thereof." And then he adds these words—and oh! that every one in this hall would echo them from his heart: "But if there must be a difference of judgment in these matters of outward policy, why should not our hearts be still one? Why should such a diversity be of power to endanger the dissolving of the bond of brotherhood? May we have the grace but to follow the truth in love, we shall in these several tracts overtake her happily in the end, and find her embracing of peace and crowning us with blessedness." I am very willing and ready to stand upon the same platform with Bishop Hall, one of the best Bishops that ever adorned the bench of the English Church, and a man who suffered from Puritan persecution. I do feel that we are making a great mistake about this matter. It seems to me (and I think that I have read all the great divines of the Church of England with an especial view to this question) that we have taken up in these later days a very much narrower position than the Church of England herself occupies. The Church of England, as I said just now, has nowhere said that the three orders are necessary to the existence of a Church. (Interruption.) There is not such a passage in the Prayer-book. It says distinctly that there have been these orders from the first, and I heartily admit it. Of course there have been; that is to say, at any rate, as Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out, from the middle of the

second century. But we know that before the end of the first century there were Churches which did not possess Episcopal government. ("No.") Well, then, how came it that Bishops of other Churches addressed letters to Churches which they did not rule over? Will you answer me that question? (Cheers.) I shall be told that the Act of Uniformity stands in the way. I make my good friends a present of the Act of Uniformity. (Laughter.) My dear friends who hate Erastianism so much seem to forget that it is an Erastian Act of Uniformity. It was never submitted to Convocation. They are quite free to have the whole benefit of it. I wish that we were well rid of it. I believe it to be a most terrible fetter round the neck of the Church. I have only just said these few words because I want to explain my position; and I do not see why, in order to be a genuine, loyal Churchman, which I claim to be, I am to take my theology and my views of Church government from men—saintly and good as they were—such as Keble, and Pusey, and Newman—and why I may not go back to Andrewes, Cosin, Hall, Sancroft, and Archbishop Whately. (Cheers.) I should like to know why the one authority is better than the other. At all events, I claim my right to stand here as a Bishop of the Church, loyal to my principles, firmly believing that Episcopacy is the best form of government, but not conceding—I never will concede it—that it is necessary to the validity of the sacraments.

Dr. Perowne had also the advantage of being supported in the position he had taken up by Mr. Gilbert W. Child, who was so cruel to the High Churchmen as to "devote himself to the historical treatment of the subject."

Dr. Child, in his essay at the Congress, said:

"I have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that Whitgift, Bancroft, Andrewes, Overall, Morton, and Cosin himself—all, except the first, generally reckoned among High Churchmen during the earliest development of a High Church party in the Church of England—yet all of them acknowledged the efficiency of Presbyterian Orders, and, according to the distinct evidence of the last, 'employed persons so ordained at several times in the public administration of the sacraments.'

"Why, then, should we in these days insist on 'putting a yoke on the neck of our brethren, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear'? Why, in particular, should our present High Churchmen—who are ready enough to complain, like a reverend Canon in a very recent controversial article, if any exception is taken to their own recurrence to practices, and ideas, and doctrines, which have been foreign to the Church of England for more than three centuries—why should they object to others of their brethren being willing, as Andrewes, and

<sup>1</sup> Namely in his *Church and State under the Tudors*. Note vi. "On Orders in the Church of England," pp. 293—304.

Morton, and Cosin were, to treat at least the orthodox Nonconformists as their brethren, while they still shun communion with that Church, the errors of which form the only *raison d'être* of the Anglican Church as a separate body, and of which it may be, as I believe it often has been truly said that if it be not heretical, Anglicanism itself cannot be other than schismatic?"

It seems to us that between them these two authorities unquestionably make out their case, and it is significant that Dr. Child, whose essay commenced the discussion, found no one to traverse his arguments. These, however, in the Congress were necessarily referred to rather than expounded, alike by Dr. Child and Bishop Perowne; and it will be for the instruction of our readers if we explain what they are.

In the first place, the Bishop of Worcester asks where the Church of England "has said that Episcopacy is necessary to the existence of a Church." And it is very certain that no such place can be found in her formularies. On the contrary, if those places are consulted where such a declaration of her mind if existent might be expected, they will be found to yield only statements so worded as to consist excellently with the Bishop's view. Thus, there are three of the Articles each of which from its subject-matter would naturally invite a settlement of the point—Articles xix. (*Of the Church*), xxiii. (*Of ministering in the Congregation*), xxxvi. (*Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers*). But of these Article xix. gives us, as the only essentials of the true Church, that "it is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." For the requisites here referred to but not specified we naturally look to Article xxiii. But this merely tells us that it is not lawful for any man to preach or administer the sacraments in the congregation "before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same." And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." Thus we are told that ordination of some kind is essential, or rather "calling and sending," and that the calling and sending must come from public authority, but it is not thought necessary to define what the public authority is; if indeed the suggestion be not that by the term we are to understand any authority constituted for



such ecclesiastical purposes by the civil sovereign, the supreme governor in all causes spiritual and temporal. Passing to Article xxxvi. we have at last mention of the three orders—bishops, priests, and deacons—but there is still a mysterious silence on the question of their necessity. We are merely told that the Edwardine Ordinal “contains all things necessary to such ordering,” or in other words, that this Ordinal is enabled to make lawful bishops, priests, and deacons where they are desired, but we are not instructed by a single word as to whether it is essential to have them in every Church.

The Articles yielding no obligation to tie down an Anglican to belief in the essential necessity of Episcopacy, we next come to the Prayer Book. There, in the Preface to the Ordinal, we may perhaps find the clear statement we are seeking of the mind of the Anglican Church. But here again we are merely told that from the Apostles’ times there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, bishops, priests, and deacons.” And on this Bishop Perowne remarks, “Of course there were.” We are not told that this three-fold arrangement then existed to the exclusion and prohibition of any other, which is the one important point. The Preface begins by instructing us that these “offices were evermore held in such reverend estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same: and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority.” It still avoids saying that these three-fold orders are indispensably necessary, and only says that they—that is, where they are in use—are not to be executed by any one until certain conditions have first been fulfilled, one of which of course is imposition of hands: and it is careful not to say as yet whilst the statement is of a general character, what is the lawful authority. Passing on to prescribe for the *Church of England*, it does at last declare episcopal ordination to be necessary. No man “shall be taken or accounted to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon *in the Church of England*, or suffered to execute any of the said functions except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following,” (which prescribes that a Bishop (such as he is) shall ordain) “[or hath had formerly episcopal consecration, or ordination]” This last clause is the most favourable to the High Church view, but nevertheless it



confines itself to declaring what is necessary in the Church of England. It makes no attempt to pronounce whether another arrangement may not be followed in other Churches without their forfeiting thereby the essentials of Church status or the possession of valid sacraments. The entire passage is in short consistent with Dr. Perowne's view, which is that of the Evangelicals generally, that the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems of Church government can both cite in their favour apostolic, or sub-apostolic, precedents, but that, whilst either is permissible, the Episcopal is much the most desirable.

And Dr. Perowne's contention, be it remembered, in regard to his own Church is not that she does not under present circumstances exact episcopal orders of her ministers, but that, as she has always refused to consider presbyterian orders insufficient for valid sacraments, she might be disposed to abate her strict requirements for a season in the hope of gathering into her fold so large a multitude of Dissenters.

What he would like is to repeal the Act of Uniformity, the greatest stumbling-block in the way of the desired object; and probably he would also like to revise a little in harmony with the said repeal, the phrase (bracketed above) "or hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination;" but he might be satisfied to leave this as it is, and dwell rather on the fact that whereas in former days this was not considered to apply to foreign Presbyterians, so now it might be disregarded for a short time in favour of English presbyterian orders, which, according to modern judgments, are of exactly the same value. And it is not unworthy of notice in this connection that the said clause, the most decisive of its kind, did not exist previously to the revision of 1661, when it was inserted to be in keeping with the contemplated Act of Uniformity. It is of like interest to know that in the Black Letter Copy of the Prayer Book with manuscript alterations which was under the consideration of the revisers of 1661, there is a proposed continuation of the above clause, "unless he have a faculty thereto." These words were not indeed adopted, but they illustrate at least the views and practice of previous days, views and practice as we shall see not entirely relinquished even after the Act of Uniformity had come into effect, and they are perhaps due to the High Church divine, Dr. Cosin.

It is to these views and to this practice of the earlier Anglicans that we must now turn, for Dr. Perowne appeals to

them as demonstrating unmistakeably that the silence of the Anglican formularies on Apostolical Succession (in Mr. Gore's sense), are due not to accident, but to the simple fact that in those days no Anglicans of note ever thought of believing in it. And it is here mostly that he received the support of Dr. Child.

To one who believes in the Apostolic Succession, that is to say, in the transmission, exclusively through an episcopate of unbroken Apostolic descent, of a mystic power indispensable to valid sacraments, the bare idea of officially admitting non-episcopally ordained persons to administer sacraments within the Anglican fold must appear intolerable. It was quite natural that the Bishop of Edinburgh at the Congress should declare passionately that Dr. Perowne's scheme, if carried out, "would split the Church in two," and that Mr. Gore (with perhaps too optimistic a belief in the tenacity with which High Church principles are held by the mass of High Churchmen), should say :

We cannot admit Nonconformist ministers as "validly ordained ministers of the Word and sacraments." If there are some Anglicans who, with nothing but amiable motives, would desire to do this, I would ask them to consider are they seriously prepared, on their own principles, to contemplate a step which—whatever would be gained by it—must inevitably cut them off from communion with the whole of the vast proportion of Anglican Churchmen in Britain, America, and the colonies taken together, who by no stretch of the imagination can be conceived as likely to accept the ministry of persons whom they believe to be not so rightly ordained as to admit of their celebrating a valid—*i.e.*, secure—Eucharist? Could the gain of such a measure in the way of possible reunion appreciably weigh against the certain loss in the way of disunion and destruction of what has always constituted the Anglican glory?

But Dr. Perowne might fairly appeal to the very earnestness of these declarations on the part of fervent believers in Apostolic Succession as affording an aid by which the better to appreciate the significance of the utter absence of any such intense feeling, or even of any such attitude towards non-episcopal orders, in the pre-Restoration Anglicans. For such an absence there was, at least, till the Restoration, and to a large extent even through the Caroline period.

We may divide this part of the subject into two heads: (1) the opinions of the earlier Anglican divines, (2) their practice.

As to opinions, Dr. Child has told us that Whitgift, Bancroft, Overall, Morton, and Cosin himself, "all save the first accounted High Churchmen during the earliest development of the High Church party," and Cosin accounted a special authority with the modern representatives of the party, acknowledged the efficiency of presbyterian orders. In the note above mentioned, appended to his *Church and State under the Tudors*, Dr. Child fully justifies this important statement, and we shall venture to quote from him a long passage.

It has been alleged no doubt that this Act<sup>1</sup> was *intended* to take security, so to speak, of the old incumbents who had continued in their livings since Mary's reign, and not to admit irregularly ordained Protestants. The answer is obvious, viz., that the words, however they might have been intended, *did* admit both; and further, that a strong presumption exists that they were intended to do so, from the practice to be shortly referred to, and from the following passage of Bishop Cosin written in the year 1650.<sup>1</sup> This letter is now well known. He is writing to a person named Cordell, who, while residing in France during the Great Rebellion, scrupled about communicating with French Protestants. Cosin, who was, or had been, as may be remembered, a Laudian High Churchman, advises him to do so, under protest as to the irregularity of their orders, "considering that *there is no prohibition of our Church against it, as there is against our communicating with Papists*," and that well founded on Scripture and the will of God. Upon the immediate point before us he says—after objecting to the "irregularity" of the orders of the French Protestants, "If at any time a minister so ordained (*i.e.*, unepiscopally) in their French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have done of late, and can instance *many* others before my time), our Bishops *did not reordain him* before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did *our laws* require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received among us and to subscribe the Articles established."<sup>2</sup> No better authority could be imagined than Bishop Cosin. He had been

<sup>1</sup> 13 Eliz. c. 12, s. 6. An Act which prescribes that "any person under the degree of a bishop who shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments by reason of any other form or institution, consecration or ordering, than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King, of most worthy memory, Edward VI., . . . shall [not take Anglican episcopal orders, but merely] declare his assent and subscribe all the Articles of Religion," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cosin's *Works*, iv. 403. See also *Ibid.* 449, 450, where he says "the reordination of Presbyterian ministers was never yet done in the Church of England, but in Mr. Drury's case alone, and that she has rather admitted them and employed them several times in public administration of sacraments."

secretary to Bishop Overall of Norwich, more than thirty years before, and was greatly esteemed as a Churchman and man of learning. Baxter says of him he was excellently versed in Canons, Councils, and Fathers, and he was one of the principal speakers at the Savoy Conference.

But the question of the practice of the Church of England needs not to depend on any one authority however eminent. On the contrary, we may trace a perfect "tradition" in the English Church, to the effect of the validity of non-episcopal Orders, through a whole line of Bishops, from Jewell in the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, through Whitgift, Bancroft, Andrewes, Overall, Morton, and Cosin, who died some twelve years after the passing of the last Act of Uniformity.

Dr. Child then proceeds to make good his words in regard to each of these prelates. Whitgift in a letter to Knollys,<sup>1</sup> says, "If it had pleased Her Majesty to have assigned the imposition of hands to the Deans of every Cathedral Church, or some other number of ministers which in no sort were Bishops, but as they be pastors, there had been no wrong done to their persons that I can conceive."<sup>1</sup>

Andrewes attested his own accordance with the tradition, and with him Bancroft, by the part the two took in the consecration of Spottiswood. This is a case Dr. Perowne alludes to in his speech. John Spottiswood, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton, Bishops-elect respectively of Brechin and Galloway, were the three Scotch divines selected by James I. in 1610 to found a Protestant episcopal succession in Scotland. There being none to perform the ceremony in Scotland, they were summoned to England to receive consecration from some English prelates. As in former times English Archbishops had claimed to extend their primacy over Scotland, it was considered desirable that Bancroft and Neil, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, should be set aside. Accordingly the prelates chosen to officiate were Abbot, Bishop of London, Launcelot Andrewes of Ely, and Montague of Bath and Wells. The three candidates had at present only Scotch presbyterian orders, and Andrewes raised the objection that they ought first therefore to be ordained to the diaconate and priesthood. But on this Bancroft, who was present, maintained "that thereof there was no necessity, seeing that when Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise that it might be doubtful if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. This

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. pp. 222, 223.

applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely (it is added) acquiesced."<sup>1</sup> The passage with the quotation marks is from Spottiswood's own pen, and thus establishes its authenticity against Heylin, who thinks Bancroft only went on the ground that ordination *per saltum* was allowable and valid. As a matter of fact it is not, though doubtless such a version of what happened would be more agreeable to modern High Churchmen. But, as Dr. Child pointedly remarks, "the difference of value between the two authorities (Spottiswood and Heylin) appears to be that whereas Spottiswood was one of the Scottish Bishops then and there consecrated, Heylin was at the time a boy of ten years old." Andrewes was too conscientious a man to join in the consecration unless he had been convinced by what Bancroft and the rest urged, particularly on an occasion which was of the highest consequence since it was in contemplation that the prelates then consecrated should originate the entire Episcopacy of the Reformed Scottish Church. We must suppose, therefore, to take the very lowest view, that he subordinated his own judgment to what he recognized to be the undoubted mind of his own Church.

Overall, when de Laune, a man previously ordained by the Presbytery at Leyden, solicited of him, in 1618, re-ordination with a view to entering into a Norwich benefice, said he could not think of re-ordaining him absolutely, but would ordain him conditionally if episcopal ordination were declared by the lawyers essential to his tenure of the benefice. This is recorded for us by Cosin,<sup>2</sup> who was at one time, as mentioned above, Overall's secretary. And Morton, on a similar application, replied that re-ordination "could not be performed without grievous offence to the Reformed Church."<sup>3</sup>

These instances of doctrinal pronouncement, elicited as they were by cases actually arising, by themselves sufficiently witness to the prevalent practice. But Dr. Child adds some further typical instances of the latter. Saravia's case is well known. He was made a minister in Holland, and was employed in Guernsey as a schoolmaster in 1564. Later he was appointed to a canonry at Canterbury, and to the rectory of Great Chart in Kent. He preferred Episcopalianism to Presbyterianism, and defended it in his writings; but there is nothing to show

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, *History of Scotland*, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> See Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. cxxii.

<sup>3</sup> See Hickman's *Apologia pro ministris*, p. 18. Second Edition.

that (unlike his Anglican contemporaries) he drew from his opinions a conclusion adverse to the validity of his previous orders, and it is morally certain he was never re-ordained. Yet he certainly administered Anglican sacraments, for he gave the communion to Hooker on his death-bed. De Moulin, the elder, a French Protestant pastor, was made Canon of Canterbury and royal chaplain, and he frequently administered communion to James I. Du Moulin, the younger, another French Presbyterian minister, was likewise, without re-ordination, instituted to the living of Adisham in Kent in 1662. This is a particularly interesting case, as it brings out very forcibly the distinction made between the non-episcopal orders of English Nonconformists and those of foreign Presbyterian bodies, and thereby leads us to understand why the latter were recognized and the former not. This Du Moulin was appointed to Adisham the very year when the Act of Uniformity came into force, and he actually succeeded in the place of one Charles Nicols, an English Presbyterian, who had just been ejected under the Act of Uniformity, on this very ground that he had no episcopal orders. Dr. Child here very appropriately quotes from the diary of Philip Henry, another of the expelled ministers in 1662. Henry says :

All or most of the Conformity have said they could not deny us to be ministers, but not ministers of the Church of England, without episcopal ordination. . . . Now suppose a Dutch or French Protestant minister to come into England to preach, he is not re-ordained but only licensed. (p. 247.)

Clearly the distinction which perplexed Philip Henry lay in this, that it was not episcopal ordination itself so much which was deemed essential, but rather ordination by public authority; and this latter the foreign Protestants possessed, the English Nonconformists did not. For whereas episcopal ordination was the only ordination publicly sanctioned at home, presbyterian ordination was recognized as that of constituted public authority abroad. As Dr. Child says, "the objection to presbyterian orders even as late as 1662, was not a theological or ecclesiastical, but purely a legal objection." Or perhaps rather, the theological and legal objections were considered to run into one. For so we know they did, at the inception of the separation, in the mind of Cranmer and Barlow, each of whom maintained that the King could make a bishop by his own sheer power of



appointment without any episcopal consecration whatever. Not very differently we have heard Whitgift express himself in the reign of Elizabeth, and in the note we are drawing from, Dr. Child is able to quote from the *Hatfield Calendar*, iii. n. 754, a similarly trenchant pronouncement belonging to the same period from Hammond.

Writing to Lord Burleigh, in 1588, this divine says :

The bishops of our realm do not (so far as I have ever yet heard), nor may not, claim to themselves any other authority than is given them by the statute of the 25th of King Henry VIII., recited in the first year of Her Majesty's reign, or by other statutes of this land; neither is it reasonable they should make other claims, for if it had pleased Her Majesty, with the wisdom of this realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our Church; or if it had liked them to limit the authority of bishops to shorter terms, they might not have said they had any wrong. But sith it hath pleased Her Majesty to use the ministry of bishops, and to assign them this authority, it must be to me, that am a subject, as God's ordinance, and therefore to be obeyed according to St. Paul's rule.

It would be excessive to gather from passages like these that no greater stress was laid on the ordination ceremony even in Caroline days. But we seem justified in referring to them as explaining how a distinction had come to be drawn between foreign and native presbyterian orders. The distinction, otherwise so inexplicable, is quite intelligible on the German Protestant principles which determined the "Reformation Settlement."

Such is the evidence brought forward at the recent Congress in support of Dr. Perowne's invitation to the Nonconformists. It seems fully to justify him, and we cannot imagine how it can be upset. Certainly it is not upset by the plea advanced by the *Church Times* in its leader of October 13, the plea that the "few Presbyterians who found their way into benefices of the Church of England without episcopal ordination" did so "at a period of great confusion and transition," and only then through the influence of "powerful Puritan patrons who had the ear of sympathetic Puritan bishops." The evidence produced points not to occasional exceptions to an ordinary law—to a few cases of *anomia*, as the *Church Times* styles them—but to a continuous tradition held to be in keeping with the ordinary law and according to its principles: and the divines who form the



links of the tradition are not merely foreign divines with specially Puritan leanings, since they embrace Bancroft, Overall, Andrewes, and Cosin, the very authorities whom High Churchmen are wont to claim as the early Anglican upholders of their own peculiar doctrines. Nor is Mr. Gore's plea of more avail. Mr. Gore says "many of them (that is, of the Caroline divines) admitted the position of Presbyterian ministers in foreign countries where, *ex hypothesi*, *Episcopacy could not be had consistently with an open Bible*," and he adds that they admitted it unwillingly and never in the case of English Nonconformists for whom the same excuse could not be pleaded. Mr. Gore has open Bible on the brain just at present, and for this reason apparently sees it everywhere. But we should like him to produce a shred of evidence to prove that access or want of access to an open Bible had anything to do with the favour denied to English, and extended to foreign Presbyterians. We have heard some Caroline divines speak, and they have told us not merely the fact that foreign presbyterian orders were recognized while native orders of the same kind were rejected: they have told us also the reason of the distinction. And the reason given was that the former had, the latter had not, the sanction of "public authority" in their localities. Nor again is there any ground for saying that the foreign presbyterian orders were admitted unwillingly. Some, like Cosin, thought it indeed a pity that the foreign Churches should have chosen, or had to choose, Presbyterianism in preference to Episcopalianism: but there is no trace of any unwillingness to recognize the validity of the presbyterian orders. It would seem then that the High Churchmen must be forced sooner or later, under stress of the irrefragable evidence which will be pressed upon them more and more by their Low Church friends, to acknowledge that their Church in its Tudor period, even in its Caroline period (for which Cosin is to a very large extent a sound witness), and indeed till the rise of Tractarianism, had quite other views than their own about Apostolical Succession, and that she expressed them alike in the careful reticence of her dead formularies, and in the living voice of the continuous teaching and practice of her representative divines.

The present article is entitled "Reunion at the Birmingham Congress," but it has been occupied so far with the orthodoxy, from an Anglican point of view, of Bishop Perowne's views on Episcopacy. This was inevitable, seeing how prominently that

topic was brought forward at the Congress: seeing, too, how intimate is the connection between this question and that of Dr. Perowne's remedy for the religious divisions. We should like, however, before concluding to offer a comment and suggestion in regard to Mr. Gore's proposed remedy for the same evil. Convinced that between Anglicans and English Nonconformists compromise can have no place, he is in favour of seeking reunion rather through absorption. Anglicans are to be true to themselves and make their "Church of England such as gradually will incline Christianly disposed persons to desire communion with her." They are to "make their Catholicity manifest by promoting the understanding of their doctrines, and giving repeatedly—as they also ask for—*positive and clear* explanations of what they mean—positive and clear explanations, I say, not negations and vague platitudes."

Finally, Anglicans are to seek personal intercourse with Nonconformists and try to know them.

Let every clergyman regard it as his duty to have—if it may be so—at least one friend ranked among his religious friends who is a Nonconformist. The thought of him will check the tendency to acrimony which the general attitude of opposition engenders. Let us know the Nonconformists, socially and personally, as friends and religious friends—none the less religious friends because we think their religious ideas are defective. For we in our turn have much to learn from them. Such personal friendship or occasional intercourse is a far better means of promoting reunion than attempts at official recognition on the borderland of religious effort, which is almost sure to promote heart-burnings where it cannot extend to the inner shrine of ministry. Let us have fellowship, fellowship in the home, the University, the political platform, the social platform, the sphere of private religion; this will dissipate prejudice and lead, we trust, in company with other efforts, to a large development and reunion in the one Church on the basis—not of our Anglicanism simply—but of the institutions, the Creed and the worship, that are really Catholic, the inalienable heritage of the children of men.

These are excellent recommendations in themselves. The one comment we would wish to make upon them is this. Why are they to be practised only in reference to Nonconformists? Mr. Gore's heart (so he tells us) "beats with excitement and joy at the mere thought of ministering in any way to the reunion of the Anglican Church with the great Apostolic See of Rome, with its splendid traditions and its world-wide privileges of Christian communion." Would it not be well

then for each Anglican to have likewise a Catholic friend, "the thought of whom might check the acrimony which the general attitude of opposition engenders?"—an acrimony which though it sometimes provokes regrettable recriminations from Catholics, takes its origin mostly on the Anglican side. Would it not be well to offer to Catholics as well as to Nonconformists (by all means let that be done) positive and clear explanations of Anglican belief, not mere negations and vague platitudes? Would it not be well to pay diligent attention to the explanations they in turn have to give, and to make a studious effort to understand them? And would it not be well in this view to encourage, rather than to forbid and denounce, the reading of Catholic books; to seek instead of to avoid personal interviews with such Catholics as might with the living voice clear up misconceptions as to their position and arguments more effectually than books? It is the conviction certainly of Catholics that the dislike of modern Anglicans for the Catholic Church is largely, to borrow the phraseology of Lord Halifax's contribution to the Congress discussion, "the result in the first place of ignorance, and in the second of misapprehension;" and the complaint of Catholics against Anglicans is that they cannot remove this ignorance and misapprehension from the minds of the latter because the latter persist in not giving them a hearing. The fact that we cannot get a hearing is obvious, and, seeing that we confessedly represent the largest and most impressive Church in the world, is clearly indefensible. If Mr. Gore really desires "to minister in some way to the reunion of the Anglican Church with the great Apostolic See of Rome," would it not be well if he would endeavour to remove, as he certainly could in some measure remove, this particular obstacle?

Probably it is in vain to address these words to Mr. Gore himself: but are there not some at least whom they will reach, some like him, and more truly than he, mournful over their isolation from a communion so world-wide in its extent, so splendid in its traditions, and who will listen to us when we say to them, "You do not know us yet. Make a solid endeavour to hear and understand our case, and then, if you like, judge of us?"

S. F. S.

*On the Road to Rome: A Psychological  
Fragment.*

---

As a boy, I was an idle little vagabond, never thinking of anything but my amusements, my pony and my dogs. I remember, however, at different epochs in my life what I can now only consider as special communications from on high. They came distinctly and consciously from without, each like a flash of light, leaving an indelible impression in my soul. There was nothing to lead up to them in my reasonings or states of feeling. They were not logical inferences from any known premisses, for the premisses were wanting, so far as any consciousness goes. I can only think of them as intuitions of faith, special supernatural visitations, or the action of angelic guardians which are always present, seldom noted. Afterwards, too, their influence seems to have passed away, without any moral effect, leaving me just as thoughtless as before.

But perhaps this was not the case, only I do not see that these flashes of light made me any better or more thoughtful. Yet, when I look back, those epochs stand out in relief, like nothing else that has fixed itself in my memory.

The first of these was when I was perhaps between seven and eight years old. I was standing by myself at my father's study window, a ground floor room looking out into the garden. I remember the scene exactly, the green turf, the flower-beds, the high laurel boundary hedge, the church wall beyond with the lofty dark cedar-trees. In the garden an ancient cypress-tree, near the house, standing tall as a poplar; I have never seen one like it in England. It was always teeming with little wrens, and was full of their nests.

Suddenly, I felt the conscious feeling of existence, of "I am." I remember this first fresh feeling of conscious existence or being; nay, it has never left me. I said to myself, "I am, things are, God is." It was the feeling and the thought of

*being* and of *cause*. It brought with it a sense of awe, of sadness, of responsibility.

I suppose that consciousness and conscience were then born within me. I think this never left me. All through my childhood from that time I was sensitive to right and wrong. I felt grieved with myself when I had gone against obedience to my parents, and could get no peace till I had told it to them. I could not bear to conceal anything that was on my conscience from my father. Yet for all this, I believe I was very naughty, often passionate, and idle as you please. I remember being put back to spelling words of two syllables, it was supposed to be a great disgrace, but I can call to mind quietly congratulating myself that I should be free from the trouble of learning my lesson because I knew it, and I was glad to shirk the long words.

I was caught one day drowning flies in my bread and milk, and was made to feel by some punishment the wickedness of cruelty.

It must have been about this time that my father made me learn a chapter in the Book of Proverbs on obedience and keeping out of evil ways and evil company ; though, in fact, I was out of the way of both, and did not know what evil was. It was the chapter beginning, "Hear, my son, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding ; go not into the way of evil men, avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it and pass away," &c.

One day I remember my dear father saying to me something which arrested my attention, and I have never lost the impression of his words and the serious look in his face. I do not know what led to it. We had just been to see the horses in the stable, and stood together in the yard. I remember the spot. It was a little word, so delicately said, which gave me the sense that there was evil worse than any I knew. It was a hint which I afterwards knew meant the sin of impurity. This little word, I do not remember what it was, for years was "a light to my feet and a lamp to my paths."

I did not know evil. When I went to school I heard boys talking of things which I did not understand, but which I felt instinctively were the evil things my father meant. They asked me if I knew something? I remember my answer, for which I was well laughed at, "I don't know, I don't care, and I don't want to know."

School, where I first knew other boys, and a private tutor's, where I first knew young men, brought the influence of bad public opinion, and did much to impair the delicate influences for good which had come to me from God, in the words of a father.

Ah, my father was a good man. How happy my days were with him. I was always his companion in his rides, on my pony by his side, holding his horse when he went into the cottages to visit the sick and dying. It was happiness, because it was the sense of Home. A shadow of the lost Paradise is the innocent child's home, and there is nothing like it on earth.

Yes, my father was a good man. I have always by me his Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, an old Latin pocket edition. (Antwerp, 1664.) It is marked with his pencil in many places. It was his companion in his Oxford days, and made him what he was.

He lies buried beneath the chancel window of his church. R.I.P. On his tomb are the words, "My beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as your labour is not in vain in the Lord." "Be ye, therefore, always ready, for in the hour you think not the Son of Man will come."

But to return to my earlier days of childhood. It is strange that I do not remember any distinct teaching I may have had about revealed religion. I suppose it was taken for granted, but of distinct Christian theology I certainly had no reflected knowledge. I learned the *Church Catechism*. This teaches very well our duty to God and to our neighbour, and touches very briefly on the other commandments. It teaches the duty of prayer, and shortly explains the Lord's Prayer. On the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper it is dogmatically explicit and defines the nature of a sacrament as Catholics would do. But, on the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, there is no explanation sufficient to fix these two fundamental doctrines in the mind of a child or of any person. Hence it came that I grew up from childhood to early manhood without these doctrines in my mind at all, and therefore also without a notion of the nature of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper; and I had not the dimmest notion of the Real Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, although this also is taught, *in words*, in the Catechism.



I remember when I was small enough to be sitting on my mother's knee, and she was giving me clusters of white currants dipped in sugar : my mother told me years afterwards, what I do not remember, that I looked up into her face feeling grateful to her for the good things I was getting and said, "Thank you, mama." She said : "But mama and all good things came from God up above in Heaven," and that I looked up to the skies and said, very naturally, "Thank you, God." Surely this shows how spontaneous in children is faith in the word of the parent, as an authority that cannot deceive nor be deceived, and how the word of external authority elicits faith in God. So the child learns to speak in prayer and thanksgiving to the living but invisible God. So it was with me, and prayer morning and evening was never missed, however little there was of reflection, there were always the words of the prayers, and a recognition of the duty of raising up the mind and heart to God. How true is it that for good or for evil our souls are in each others' power, and this is especially true in the case of parents, they can mould like wax the young and tender soul, sensible to every impression. "Tis education trains the youthful mind," says the old trite proverb, "just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined."

There was in all this apparently nothing but Natural Religion. I think what I now state is a proof of this.

I remember there was an engraving hanging in our dining-room, taken from a painting by one of the old masters of the Annunciation, the Blessed Virgin and the Angel Gabriel, but I do not remember ever to have had any religious ideas connected with it, such as would be in the mind of any Catholic child.

Yet perhaps there was more in my mind than I adverted to or can remember. One thing I recollect was told me by my mother years after, that when I was quite a small child, a gentleman who was calling, I think he was the family doctor, took me up in his arms and carried me round the room to amuse me by looking at the pictures. There was a print taken, I think, from a painting by Raphael, representing the Ascension of our Lord into Heaven, and I shocked the doctor by putting my finger on the figure of our Lord among the clouds and saying, "That's God." My mother told me that he put me down immediately, perfectly frightened at my very explicit theology.

I doubt if this indicated any real hold, such as a Catholic child would have from the teaching of his Catechism, and from



Catholic traditions and worship, of the doctrine of the Incarnation of God, of His Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension.

I suspect it was rather an anthropomorphic notion I had of God.

I distinctly remember, when I was quite a small child, I used to think, in a kind of dumb terror, about God up above the skies. I supposed He must have a long spear with which He killed wicked people, and put them I knew not where; but I thought the entrance was under a great stone in the neighbouring churchyard, which I suppose I had been told led to the vaults where dead people were buried.

If I had been naughty, I was in great terror of the rooks, of which there were great flocks that came flying overhead every evening. I had heard a text of Scripture about the ravens that would pick out the eyes of wicked children, and I thought the rooks were ravens, and that they would come some day and attack me.

I was in great terror of the Last Judgment Day, which I had heard about in the Gospel read in the church. I remember frightening myself into a kind of panic one day, convinced that the sound of the bells of a distant flock of sheep going along the road, was the distant sound of the last trumpet of doom, waxing louder and louder. I can feel still the sense of relief, when I became assured that my fears were vain. These are all the things I can remember of my early years.

A particular providence, or rather extraordinary grace, as vivid, real, and lasting as that first grace by which I woke up to consciousness of existence and to conscience, happened to me when I was about nineteen, just before I went to Oxford.

I was taken by my grandfather for a tour up the Rhine. We landed at Antwerp. This was the first time I had seen a Catholic Cathedral and Catholic worship. I saw there crowds of people on their knees. I had never seen anything like it before. I had all my life been used to go to church on Sundays, and to hear prayers and sermons read, and hymns sung, and after Confirmation by the Bishop I had at stated times remained to receive bread and wine, which was called the Lord's Supper, or the Sacrament; but the idea of worship, of intense adoration, or of sacrifice never had entered into my mind. But here I saw the people in their thousands at Antwerp, and afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Cologne Cathedrals at five o'clock in the morning on week-days before going to their work, men and

women kneeling on the pavements in these vast churches; without seats, kneeling-benches, or hassocks, in silent prayer.

But I viewed all this only with wonder at its strangeness, as sightseers do, just looking into the churches and coming out, with the feeling that I did not know what to make of it, and that in what they were doing I had no part nor lot; much as one might feel if one entered a Turkish mosque or a Buddhist temple.

We arrived at Baden-Baden on a Saturday evening. On the Sunday morning I went out for a stroll in the town and turned into a church. It was large and full of people. In the distance were some mysterious looking figures vested in brilliant gold and red damask vestments, moving about on an elevated platform, in front of an altar which was illuminated with many lighted candles.

It was the first time I had ever seen a Catholic altar, and priests clad in sacred vestments, like the Jewish priesthood of old, of which I had seen pictures. But I was reminded of the only Church ceremony I had ever witnessed, that of the Queen's coronation, a year before in Westminster Abbey, at which I had been present. There I remembered I had seen something like this—a magnificent altar with candlesticks of gold, and covered with gold plate, and the Archbishop and others vested in gorgeous copes—but I thought of it only as a part of the grand pageant of coronation, like the peers and peeresses in their magnificent crimson and ermine robes putting on their coronets when the Archbishop placed the crown on the head of the youthful Sovereign.

But my attention was now arrested by the present scene which I watched with curious wonder. I had not a notion what it all meant. The idea of Sacrifice, which is the essence of Catholic worship, had never entered into my head, except in connection with the Mosaic ritual. I had never heard of any Sacrifice in the Christian Church, or of anything like the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence.

As I gazed upon the spectacle with the eyes of the body only, suddenly I saw clouds of incense rising up from before the altar. Then all that vast assembly fell upon their knees, the music ceased—there was dead silence throughout the church, broken only by the sound of the wind outside, by the tinkling of silver bells at the altar, and the solemn booming of the great church bell.

I never before had felt what worship is. I could not keep from falling on my knees with that vast multitude, and a feeling came over me which I still feel, and which I now know is the feeling which faith gives of the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.

But of this I then knew nothing. A year or two later at Oxford, under the teaching of the new school, of which Newman was the head, it had grown into a reasoned reflected conviction of the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament.

As I knelt in the church I only felt thrilled through and through, under a sense of the presence of God, and words of Holy Scripture flashed into my mind almost as if a living voice had spoken them: "Truly God is in this place and I knew it not."

I think my feeling was rather akin to that of the Patriarchs of old, in contact with the *Theophanies* of the Old Testament, of Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, when they bowed themselves to the earth under an overwhelming sense of what we may call a localized presence of God, guaranteed by the visible manifestation of angels.

The action of God on my soul was, so far as I can see, purely intellectual with a something<sup>1</sup> in the imaginative faculty that was acted on by God and which arrested my attention to a light that was in my intelligence.

It was indeed a preparation for faith and, as I believe, was supernatural, not to say miraculous. I do not think it made me better, more religious at the time or less frivolous, to use a very minimizing expression. The angels of darkness and of light remember; and make me remember Baden.

I returned to England and went to Oxford to begin my studies. I did not get into a good set in my College, but into one of idle, hunting men, who lived on the same staircase with me. There was not much drinking, but the general moral tone was as low as that of the general tone of men's society at that day. It was considered by cultivated gentlemen *bad form* to talk impurely, or against religion and

<sup>1</sup> The imaginative faculty is acted on by the senses and memories of sensation, but the images in the imagination can be produced not only by our own spirit, which is one of the sources of delusion, but by the evil spirit, another source of delusion, or by God through the agency of good spirits. People are apt to think of imagination and delusion as if they were the same thing. "We must try the spirits whether they be of God."

morality, but there was a certain understanding among middle-aged men, fathers of families, clergymen, that we must not be too hard on the young, they had been young themselves, all youths "must sow their wild oats." They must learn to be wiser by experience as their elders had done, and they would turn out as well as old squires and reverend seniors felt complacently they had themselves done.

In my second year my better self revived. I got free of my earlier companions and got better ones. I began to frequent Newman's sermons at St. Mary's. These made a profound impression on me and were the turning-point in my moral and intellectual life.

I must mention one more of these lights from God of which I have spoken. I was studying for Orders, and had just taken my B.A. degree. I was reading the history of the early heresies, and especially Newman's *History of the Arians*. I was walking by myself outside Oxford, I stood on a high ground near Littlemore, from whence I looked down on all the spires and domes and towers of Oxford as they lay embosomed in trees.

I was thinking over the Arian controversy—"One in substance with the Father," of the Catholics; "Like in substance with the Father," of the Arians—and the thought came to me, "Who is like to God," unless He be God? and if He is God, He is One in substance with the Father, God of God, not a creature, but the Creator, by whom all things were made.

And flashing into my mind came the question: What is the meaning of those old towers and spires, of all the towers and spires that cut the horizon in every wide extent of open country in England? The answer came: they mark where a church lies hid, and every church of the olden time was built as a tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament, because they believed that Christ was in the Blessed Sacrament and that Christ is the Incarnate God.

The impression made on my soul at Baden three years before was here renewed again and completed. I felt it was another manifestation of God given to my soul, and the fresh feeling of that impression has never left me.

Such was my state of mind when I got your letter on the day I left Oxford, and read it as I crossed Magdalen Bridge on the London coach, on my way for my Anglican Ordination.

W. LOCKHART.

### *The Bollandists on St. Winefride.*

---

It is now nearly seven years since the Bollandists issued the latest instalment of their *Acta Sanctorum* which has hitherto been published, being the first volume for the month of November. The volume is of special interest to English and Welsh Catholics, by reason that it contains the Life of St. Winefride, with a valuable preliminary dissertation, and an Appendix giving all that is known of the history of the Well. With commendable promptitude a small book was published in 1888, bearing the title, "*The Life of St. Winefride, Virgin and Martyr, based on the Acts compiled by the Bollandist Fathers.* Edited by Thomas Swift, S.J." It did not, however, fall within the scope of Father Swift's plan to reproduce the critical dissertation prefixed by the Bollandist Editor to the mediæval Lives of the Saint; and this omission, together with the circumstance that the earliest document in which Holywell is mentioned by name bears the date A.D. 1093,<sup>1</sup> must be our excuse for venturing to put before the English Catholic reader before the close of 1893, and before the appearance of the forthcoming volume of the *Acta*, a very inadequate sketch of what may be read more at large by those who are able to consult for themselves Father De Smedt's learned pages. To this sketch we will add a few supplementary observations.

The story of St. Winefride is told in three independent MS. documents, which are still extant, viz., two Latin Lives of the Saint herself and a Welsh Life of St. Beuno. Of the Latin Lives, one was written by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, shortly after the translation of St. Winefride's relics from Gwytherin to Shrewsbury, which took place in A.D. 1138, and during the lifetime of Guarin, or Warren, Abbot of Worcester, who is known to have died about A.D. 1141. The other Life is of a somewhat

<sup>1</sup> We refer to the grant of "the church of Haliwel" to the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, made by Adeliza, Countess of Chester, in that year. (Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 466.)

earlier date, for it speaks of the relics as being still at Gwytherin. That the two Lives are independent appears from the circumstance that Robert of Shrewsbury speaks of the Saint's alleged pilgrimage to Rome as nowhere attested in writing, whereas the earlier Life makes explicit mention of the journey; and also from certain other discrepancies.<sup>1</sup> The conjecture of Bale that the first Life is the work of St. Elerius of Gwytherin himself—a contemporary of St. Winefride—is entirely destitute of probability, for, as Father De Smedt points out, it can hardly be supposed that so precious a contemporary record would have been overlooked by Robert in the course of the investigations which—as he tells us—he made at Gwytherin.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, from Robert's ignorance of the first Life, the learned Bollandist conjectures with great probability that it probably had not been long extant at the time when Robert wrote. Of the date of the Welsh Life of St. Beuno nothing seems to be known with certainty; at any rate Father De Smedt suggests no reason for attributing to it a greater antiquity than to the Latin Lives of St. Winefride. Certain discrepancies in points of detail show, however, that the account of St. Winefride therein given was not derived from either of the Latin Lives, or *vice versa*. Two Welsh manuscript Lives of the Saint, mentioned by Edward Lhwyd in his Catalogue of Welsh MSS., have hitherto eluded the search of antiquarians. Nor does Lhwyd give any description of their contents.<sup>3</sup>

A somewhat free translation of the Life by Robert of Shrewsbury was published at St. Omers, in 1635, by Father John Falconer, S.J., which was reprinted, with some additions,

<sup>1</sup> "Cæterum quod de itinere illius ad Romam penitus silui, consulto egi, sicut et nonnulla plurimorum ore trita funditus omisi, quia nec ea in libris inveni, nec qui de illis allegatione sua prædicabant æstimatione hominum digni erant quorum sermonibus fidem adhiberem." (*Acta SS.* t. i. Nov. p. 709 A.)

<sup>2</sup> "Sed ut aut Vitam illam aut ullam omnino Vitam Wenefredæ ab Elerio conscriptam esse censeamus antiquiore utique testimonio opus foret quam Balei. Præterea validissimum contra est argumentum negativum ex silentio Roberti Salopiensis, qui quum Guitheriaci et aliis locis septemtrionalis Walliæ quæcumque de W. servatæ erant traditiones diligenter collegerit, Vitam ab Elerio conscriptam nullam novit; quam utique si novisset præcipuo loco inter testimonia quibus auctoritatem suæ narrationis tueretur extulisset." (*Acta SS.* t. c. p. 692 A.)

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps to be regretted that Father De Smedt has referred to Butler rather than to Lhwyd as the authority for the existence of these two MSS. In Lhwyd's time (A.D. 1707) they were the property respectively of the then Bishop of Hereford and of Jesus College, Oxford. Since the above was in type, we have been informed by a friend who has made a special study of Welsh hagiography that there are grounds for believing that the Life of St. Beuno dates from the eleventh century.



in 1712, by Father Thomas Layton (*alias* Metcalf), and, with the further accompaniment of some hostile historical criticism, by Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1713. Subsequent writers have, until quite recent times, for the most part based their accounts of the Saint upon Falconer's paraphrase of Robert of Shrewsbury, as known through the editions of Layton (Metcalf) and Fleetwood. For though the MS. containing the earlier Life was known to Alban Butler, it was first printed, with an English translation, by W. J. Rees, in his *Cambro-British Saints*, in 1853.<sup>1</sup> Both Lives are given in full in the *Acta Sanctorum*, from a careful collation of the scanty materials available; with the result that we now possess the actual text of Robert's narrative, while in the earlier Life many false readings which disfigure Rees's edition of the MS. have been eliminated.<sup>2</sup>

In the portion of the story which has its scene in the neighbourhood of Holywell, the earlier biographer is considerably more explicit as regards local details than Robert of Shrewsbury. But the part of the narrative which concerns the Saint's departure from Holywell, and her migration to Gwytherin, is lightly passed over in the first Life, and here the later biographer adds several interesting particulars.<sup>3</sup> The discrepancies between the two accounts will be noticed presently. Robert's style throughout is tediously diffuse, and the speeches which he puts into the mouths of the various personages who come upon the scene are, of course, nothing better than the fruit of a highly constructive imagination.

As it is just possible that some of our readers are not acquainted with Father Swift's Life of the Saint, it may be worth while here to give the narrative in brief, as it is found in the three sources mentioned above.

Winefride was the daughter of a certain Teuyth, a vassal of Cadvan, King of Gwynedd (Venedocia, or North Wales), of whom he held three estates or townships in the province of

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. Edited from Welsh and Latin MSS. by Rev. W. J. Rees. (Llandovrey, 1853, pp. 198—209, 515—529.)

<sup>2</sup> Father Swift's volume contains a translation of the two Lives, from the Bollandist text.

<sup>3</sup> The difference, in point of detail, between the two accounts of the migration to Gwytherin may not improbably be due to the circumstance that the author of the first Life was—as Father de Smedt conjectures (p. 692 B)—a monk of Basingwerk, whose investigations had not extended beyond his own immediate neighbourhood.

Tegengle.<sup>1</sup> Beuno, a holy priest whose vocation it seems to have been to move from place to place founding what we might call mission-stations, being dispossessed of some lands which had been granted him in Powys (*i.e.*, East Wales), came to Teuyth and asked for a place in which he might settle.<sup>2</sup> He was bidden to make his own choice, and elected to take up his abode in a glen called in the British tongue Sechnant (*recte* Sychnant) *i.e.*, "the dry glen," situated "in solitudine Beluye," where he built a little church. Here he daily celebrated Mass, which Teuyth and his household regularly attended, and moreover he daily instructed Winefride in sacred learning (*erudiens divina quotidie pagina virginem Wenefredam*). The memory of St. Beuno's settlement at what is now Holywell is preserved in the name Gerdd y Beuno (Beuno's garden) which still designates a homestead with some adjoining fields on the left side of the head of the Holywell valley. Now it happened on a certain Sunday that Teuyth and his wife had gone to the church for Mass, while Winefride tarried at home to prepare the fire, water, and salt which was needed for the celebration.<sup>3</sup> Whilst she was thus alone in her father's house, one Caradoc, son of a certain prince Alan, or Alauc, presented himself at the door.<sup>4</sup> He was out hunting, and, like the modern *bona fide* traveller, was very thirsty (*erat enim valde sitiens*), and, moreover, professed to have some business with Teuyth.<sup>5</sup> When Winefride came forth to

<sup>1</sup> Tegengle (Tekeynglia) "comprehends the three modern hundreds of Coleshill, Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan" (Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, i. 6), and included the tract of country which is enclosed between the lower portion of the river Clwyd, the Mold valley, and the estuary of the Dee. Its chief town, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, was Rhuddlan. A reminiscence of the old designation of this region is preserved in the local name Englefield. A good deal of discussion has been expended on the etymology of *Tegengle*, but it can hardly be said to have led to any very satisfactory conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> St. Beuno's life represents, on a smaller scale and under more primitive conditions, something of the same kind of activity in establishing centres of religion and civilization as is exhibited, for instance, in the successive migrations of his elder contemporary St. Columbanus on the continent of Europe.

<sup>3</sup> "Causa secum ferendi missæ necessaria, ignem videlicet et aquam cum sale." (p. 703 E.) Robert omits this detail, saying merely, "Virgo . . . aliquod forte perperam incommodum necessario domi est sola remanere coacta." (p. 712 A.)

<sup>4</sup> It is thought that Alauc was probably an Armorican prince. The grounds for this opinion, however, cannot be here discussed. Caradoc is mentioned in all three Lives, Alauc or Alan in both Lives of St. Winefride.

<sup>5</sup> Father De Smedt prints, from the MS. of the *Vita prima*, "potum querens nimirum, erat enim sitiens." He notes, however, that a second MS. omits "nimirum" and reads "valde sitiens." Surely "nimirum" is a scribe's blunder for a misplaced "nimum" ("valde"). The two motives, or professed motives, for the visit are, it must be admitted, rather confusedly given.

inquire what he wanted, he tempted her to sin, but she, withdrawing on some pretext, escaped by another door and fled to the church. Caradoc, finding himself deceived, pursued her, overtook her just as she reached the church, and mad with rage cut off her head, which fell or rolled within the entrance. Beuno came down from the altar, cursed the murderer, who fell dead and melted away "as wax before the fire," placed the head of Winefride in contact with her body, and prayed earnestly for the maiden's restoration to life (*ne gauderet super illo* [sc. *corpore*] *inimicus*). At the conclusion of the prayer Winefride arose—(*mox cum prece corpus cum viribus resumpsit animam*) retaining only a slight scar upon her neck. And on the spot stained by her blood a plentiful spring burst forth.

Such is the story as related in the *Vita prima*, which goes on to relate that, immediately after the miracle, Beuno retired to another place (Clynnog Fawr is no doubt intended), after exacting from Winefride a promise that she would send him yearly an alb or chasuble (*casula*). This she professed herself willing to do; but not knowing his destination, knew not how to send it. He told her to lay it upon a certain stone in the stream and that it would be safely borne to him. All of which was yearly done and fulfilled according to their mutual promise. Winefride's life, meanwhile, with the exception of a pilgrimage which she made to Rome, was that of a recluse, until at a certain Council, which she attended, it was determined that in future the solitaires, of whom there were many in Wales, should live in communities. As a result of this decree, Winefride became Abbess of a little community of nuns at Gwytherin, where she died.

Robert of Shrewsbury, while less explicit, as has been said, with respect to local details, adds several particulars, while here and there he gives a slightly different colouring to the story. Some of his additions may be set down as mere embellishments; but it is impossible to determine *a priori* which part of the embroidery may some day be found to have embodied in its texture some valuable shred of truth. Teuyth, who in the *Vita prima* is described as a gallant officer (*strenuus miles*), becomes in Robert's narrative a much more considerable personage (*magnus et potentissimus vir*), and a high encomium is passed upon his virtues. Moreover his father Eliuth (Eylud), who is not mentioned in the *Vita prima*, and is barely named in the Life of St. Beuno, is represented as a kind of prime minister

(*summus atque excellentissimus senator, atque a rege secundus*). Teuyth grants land to Beuno on which to build not merely a church, but also, as it would seem, a monastery (*ecclesiam et habitacula servis Dei inibi mansuris*). He further commits his daughter Winefride (*in qua pæne totius gaudii mei summa atque spes posteritatis consistit*), to the special care of Beuno, bidding him pray that his wishes in her regard may be fulfilled. More than this, he transfers his own habitation to a spot on the opposite side of the glen (*ex adverso suum fixit tabernaculum*), so that when deprived of the society of the Saint he might at least enjoy the sight of his dwelling.<sup>1</sup> Nay, he would with his own hands help him in the building of the "basilica"(!) the expenses of which he defrayed with great liberality. As often as Beuno celebrated Mass he was present with his wife and daughter, and bade the latter sit at the Saint's feet whenever he addressed the people. Under these holy influences Winefride took the resolution of consecrating her virginity to God, and aided by Beuno's intercession, received from her parents the permission to do so. As regards the motive of Winefride's remaining at home on the fateful Sunday, Robert is at a loss, and Caradoc, on his arrival, finds her "sitting by the fire." (Apparently he misunderstood the mention of "fire" in the source from which he drew.) Nothing is said of Caradoc's hunting or thirst, the professed object of his visit being that he had business with Teuyth. The incidents of the temptation, flight, and murder, are related substantially as in the *Vita prima*, except that Robert introduces a dialogue between Caradoc and Winefride at the church door. The bursting forth of the spring follows immediately upon the decapitation, and before Winefride's restoration to life. But the most interesting detail at this point of the story is Robert's account of how St. Beuno, after placing the head in contact with the body, breathed into the nostrils, spread his cloak over the corpse, and went up to the altar to celebrate Mass.<sup>2</sup> At the end of Mass he calls upon the people to pray that the maiden may be restored to life. After a long interval of silent supplication (*postquam diu oratum est*) he prayed aloud, and at the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Here again the plural form "*sancti viri habitacula*" apparently implies some kind of monastic settlement. The Celtic monasteries seem to have consisted, not of a single large building, but of a number of detached cells.

<sup>2</sup> "*Ordine suo illud (caput) componens adiecit reliquo corpori, palliumque super illud sternens, in naribus illius insufflavit. Deinde . . . ad altare Missam celebraturus accessit.*" (p. 173D, E.)

of the prayer Winefride arises, as if wakened from sleep, and cleanses her face (*tergens faciem suam atque emundans a pulvere et sudore*). Robert, too, mentions the white scar on Winefride's neck, and tells us that whereas she had previously been named Brewa (Frewy) she was henceforth called Gwenfrewy (Gwen=white). And ever afterwards she bore the scar as the witness to her martyrdom (*titulus suæ passionis*).

Departing somewhat from the earlier biographer, Robert places Beuno's departure not immediately after the martyrdom, but at an interval apparently of some months; relating, moreover, in considerable detail the solemn veiling of the holy virgin by her spiritual father. He too narrates the incident of the tunic and its miraculous transmission, omitting, however, all mention of the stone. According to him, Winefride wrapped the garment in a canvas covering, and it reached St. Beuno unmoistened. He further omits, as has been already mentioned, the pilgrimage to Rome, and represents St. Winefride, not as living the life of a solitary, but as Abbess of a community of nuns at Holywell, previous to her departure for Gwytherin. Nothing is said of the Council and its decree; but Winefride is led to leave Holywell by a Divine monition which bids her betake herself to Bodfari to seek counsel from Deifer, a holy anchoret who dwelt there. Deifer sends her forward to the holy Sadwrn who lived at Henllan, and he in turn bids her place herself under the guidance of Elerius at Gwytherin. Here Thiona, the mother of Elerius, presided over a convent, of which Winefride, by his direction, became a member. On Thiona's death she was herself chosen Abbess, and governed the community during the remainder of her life.

The Life of St. Beuno confirms the Latin biographies of St. Winefride (1) in assigning the same cause for Beuno's coming to Teuyth to seek land from him;<sup>1</sup> (2) in the statement that Teuyth gave Beuno a "township;" (3) in the story of Caradoc's attempt upon Winefride's chastity, her death, the placing of her head near her body, and its remaining covered with Beuno's cloak while he celebrated Mass, her resuscitation at the conclusion of the Mass, and even the apparently trifling

<sup>1</sup> "Beatus Bennonus (*sic*) præsul, superfluitate (*sic*) filiorum Selym mansione sua privatus, in domo descendit ipsius (*scil.* Teuyth)." So the *Vita Prima*. (p. 702 c.) "Then he returned to the sons of Selyff, and said to them, 'What your fathers have given to God, will you that it be given as with a tax and obligation thereon?' . . . Then Beino left that place and . . . came to Temic," &c. (*C.B.SS.* p. 303.)

detail that on her return to life "the sweat was wiped from her face;" and lastly (4) in the account of the origin of the Well and of its healing properties. Nothing is said in this Life of the sending of the tunic, and indeed the narrative seems to exclude this incident. For the writer tells us that the miracle at Holywell led to the conversion of Cadvan the King, who gave Beuno "much land and territory;" and according to him, Beuno's migration to Arvon (Carnarvonshire), where he finally settled at Kelynauc (*i.e.*, Clynnog Fawr), did not take place till after Cadvan's death. Father De Smedt seems, however, to go beyond his authority when he states that, according to this Life, Beuno remained at *Holywell* till the death of Cadvan. Nothing is said on this point, and it might well be that Beuno would have transferred his residence to some of the lands given him by Cadvan. Of the subsequent history of Winefride, the Life of St. Beuno gives, as might be expected, no information.

Such is the story in the three versions of it which have come down to us. Our concern now is with the historical value of this remarkable Life. The details supplied by the three biographies—and more particularly by that of St. Beuno—point to the year 630 as the approximate date of St. Winefride's martyrdom; and accordingly we are left face to face with the unwelcome fact that an interval of five hundred years separates that event from the earliest extant record of it. It need hardly be said that this fact, coupled with the silence of certain British and English writers and documents concerning the Saint, has been the chief argument on which those writers have relied who have sought to throw discredit on the whole story.

It may be convenient to deal first with the argument from the silence of early writers. This point had been already dealt with by Alban Butler, but it is more fully treated by Father De Smedt, of whose valuable section on this subject we must be content to give the merest outline.

That Venerable Bede and other Saxon and early Norman writers should have omitted all mention of St. Winefride, is in no way surprising, seeing that they concerned themselves with the affairs of Wales and of the British Church only in so far as they in some way came into relation with English history. As regards Welsh historians, Nennius (or whoever goes under his name) does indeed bring his history down to the middle of the seventh century, but the events which he describes are mainly



civil and political, and towards the close of the period of which he treats his narrative becomes extremely meagre; Aser of Menevia and the book entitled *Brut y Twysogion* deal with a later period; while a certain so-called Catalogue of Welsh Saints on whose silence Fleetwood laid great stress, is found on examination to contain no names of Welsh Saints except of those who belonged by birth or residence to the dioceses of Menevia and Llandaff (*i.e.* to South Wales). So, too, Geoffrey of Monmouth, though towards the end of his life (A.D. 1152) he was elected Bishop of St. Asaph, never in fact took possession of his see; nor is it a matter for surprise that, writing at Llandaff where he finished his history in A.D. 1139, he should have passed over in silence a sanctuary in North Wales. We should indeed have had a better right to expect that Giraldus Cambrensis, who in the course of his peregrination of North Wales in A.D. 1188, stopped a night at the monastery of Basingwerk, to which the Church of Holywell then belonged, would have had a word to say about the neighbouring shrine. But inasmuch as we have the explicit testimony of Robert of Shrewsbury, whose Life of St. Winefride was written within a year or two of the completion of Geoffrey's history and nearly fifty years before the *Itinerary* of Gerald, to the effect that Holywell was already in his time a noted place of pilgrimage, the only conclusion which we can legitimately draw from the silence of Geoffrey and of Gerald is that an argument *ex silentio* is of an extremely precarious nature, and exceedingly apt to mislead those who make an incautious use of it. A still older indirect testimony to the celebrity of the place is afforded by its Saxon name Haliwel. It is called by this name in Adelizas' grant of the chapelry to the Monastery of St. Werburgh's, Chester, in A.D. 1093. And it is at least highly probable that the "Weltune" of the Domesday survey of this part of North Wales is to be identified with Holywell.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the objection based upon the interval which lies between the events related in the Life of St. Winefride and their earliest extant record, it is to be observed that this argument loses some at least of its force when we bear in mind that the Life by Robert of Shrewsbury, as also no doubt the *Vita prima*, was based upon earlier documents as well as upon oral traditions. Indeed he is expressly careful to tell us that he refrained from a too ready acceptance of details which were

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh name of Holywell is Trefynnon (Well town).

attested by oral tradition alone. Still we have no information as to the age of the documents which Robert consulted, and there is no reason to suppose that—were they extant now—the actual manuscripts which he had before him would take us back to a time removed by less than two, or perhaps three or four centuries from the period of St. Winefride's life. Nor can much stress be laid on the list of miracles wrought at the Well which is given in the second portion of the *Vita prima*, regarded as testifying to the early *cultus* of the Saint. For of these prodigies two only take us back to pre-Norman times, and these two are such as to be hardly calculated to satisfy even the least critical inquirer either as to their actual occurrence, or as to their preternatural character.

Nevertheless, scepticism as to the historical personality of the Saint would, we think, be entirely out of place; and Haddan and Stubbs surely go too far when they class St. Winefride among "persons who almost certainly never existed at all."<sup>1</sup> The life of St. Winefride is too closely linked with that of St. Beuno to be separable therefrom, and the story of St. Beuno has left on the map traces too indelible to be wiped out by the sponge of the supercilious critic. From Llanveyno in Herefordshire to Aberrihw in Montgomeryshire, thence to Gwyddelwern in Merioneth, to Gerdd y Beuno, the place of his abode at Holywell, and finally to Clynog Fawr on the Carnarvonshire coast, the course of his life's pilgrimage imprinted itself alike on the topographical nomenclature and on the traditions of the people. So too the migration of Winefride to Gwytherin is connected, as has been seen, with the names of Deifer, of Sadwrn, and of Elerius. The memory of Deifer was preserved down to our own time at Fynnon Deifer near Bodfari, whither on Ascension Day, in comparatively modern times, it was the custom of the people of Bodfari annually to repair to recite litanies and prayers.<sup>2</sup> The name of Sadwrn (Saturnus) survives at Bwlch Sadwrn close to Henllan (the "Old Church"), as also in the parish of Llan-Sadwrn in Anglesey. Elerius (Elian) and Thiona are mentioned in the thirteenth century collections of genealogies of Welsh saints entitled *Bonedd y Saint* and *Achau y Saint*, a late source of information certainly, but one which embodies details not supplied by the extant Lives either of St. Beuno or of St. Winefride, and which

<sup>1</sup> *Councils*, i. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 281.

must consequently have been derived from some independent source.<sup>1</sup>

We do not of course venture to say that the mention of Deifer Sadwrn and Elerius in the Life of St. Winefride is a conclusive proof of the historical character of the story; for it is of course possible than an imaginative biographer, familiar with the road from Holywell to Gwytherin, should have invented the interviews with the holy men whose memories are connected with two of the principal places on the route, viz., Bodfari and Henllan. On the other hand we are not at liberty gratuitously to assert on *a priori* grounds that the portion of the story which is connected with their names did in fact grow up in this way. We are inclined to think that the more the genealogical and other lists of Welsh and also of Irish Saints (such as are contained in the Book of Leinster) are studied in connection with such lives and biographical notices of them as are extant or may yet be discovered, the more it will be found that they present such a number of points of contact with one another as can by no means be explained as the effect of accident or of merely imaginative hagiography. The genealogical problems which present themselves in connection with the various persons mentioned in the Life of St. Winefride it would be impossible, even if we had the requisite knowledge, to discuss here; but we would remind the reader that in omitting to discuss them we are leaving aside a source of information which, in the absence of more convincing testimony, is far from unimportant.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, however, the recognition of the historical personality of St. Winefride is a very different thing from the unquestioning acceptance of all the details of the story—her martyrdom, the restoration of her head (concerning which it

<sup>1</sup> "Lleuddad in Bardsey, and Baglan in Coel, and Eleri at Pennant Gwytherin in Rhyvoniawg, and Twygon Iscoed were the sons of Dingad, the son of Nudd Hael . . . ; and Theoni, daughter of Llewddyn Lluedd wag of the city of Edinburgh (Dinas Eidin) in the north was his mother." (*Achau y Saint*, No. 22; in *Cambro British Saints*, p. 594.) In the same list (No. 23), we read of St. Beuno that Pheren, daughter of the same Llewddyn of Dinas Eidin, was his mother: and the same names (in the forms Beren and Llawdden) are given in the Life of St. Beuno. This would make Eleri first cousin to St. Beuno, and it is just possible that in this relationship we have one of the reasons which in fact led to Winefride's migration to Gwytherin. The Lives, however, make no mention of any relationship between the two Saints.

<sup>2</sup> Some interesting instances of what may be called undesigned chronological agreement between quite independent Lives of different Welsh Saints are given by Rees in his *C.B. Saints*, p. 300, note 2.

may be noted that the Roman Breviary is silent), the miraculous origin of the Well, or again the annual transmission of St. Beuno's tunic by stream and sea. Such miracles are of too common occurrence in the Lives of Celtic Saints to justify a ready acceptance of them as historical facts. A second instance of the restoration of the head of a decapitated woman, followed by the outburst of a spring, may be read in the Life of St. Beuno himself;<sup>1</sup> and similar miracles—to the number of nine—are enumerated by Father De Smedt, as found in the biographies of the Welsh and Irish Saints. So, too, the miraculous conveyance of the tunic has numerous parallels in similar documents. It is then with reason that Father De Smedt sums up in the following well-considered words the result of his critical investigation, *De Actorum S. Wenefredæ auctoritate* :

"Ergone ut omnino certa et comprobata videtur historia S.W. qualis nobis in duplici vita ejus exhibetur? *Id sane contendere non ausim.* Hanc nimirum historiam novimus tantummodo ex traditionibus incertæ originis sæc. xii. forte primum scripto consignatis. . . . Quæ sane auctoritas tanti valoris non est ut firmam fidem adhibeamus stupendis illis miraculis quæ in S. Virgine contigisse referuntur. Itaque ab his certius asserendis abstinemus : *non quia miracula sunt aut quia stupenda sunt* ; nam qui credit in me, ait Dominus, opera quæ ego facio et ipse faciet, et majora horum faciet ; *sed quia ad illa asserenda non suppetit plena auctoritas.*"<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless there are one or two considerations which, while certainly not amounting to proof, seem to tell, however slightly, in favour of the truth of the main incidents of the story, and may perhaps deserve a word of notice.

In the first place, given that St. Winefride did in fact live first at Holywell and afterwards at Gwytherin, it requires to be explained how it came about that Holywell rather than Gwytherin, was selected as the chief seat of her *cultus*. The fact, moreover, that already in Robert of Shrewsbury's time two days (June 22nd or 23rd and November 3rd) were sacred to the memory of the Saint, is another circumstance that calls for explanation. On June 22nd was commemorated St. Winefride's

<sup>1</sup> Father De Smedt seems to be in error when he speaks of *three* such instances in the Life of St. Beuno. A third case of raising the dead to life (at Gwyddelwern) is indeed mentioned, but nothing is said of decapitation.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 694, 695. The italics are ours.

martyrdom, and on November 3rd her death at Gwytherin ; for, as Father De Smedt has shown, it is a simple anachronism to maintain that the feast of November 3rd preserves merely the memory of the translation of the Saint's relics to Shrewsbury.<sup>1</sup> The greater celebrity of Holywell might indeed be accounted for by its proximity to Chester and the English border, and the double feast might find an explanation in the hypothesis of two Winefrides—one of Holywell, the other of Gwytherin—but it remains true that the story as told would adequately and satisfactorily account both for the one and for the other.

Again there are three circumstances in the Life of the Saint, which afford at least some slight support to the story of the miraculous origin of the Well. (1) The valley, according to both biographers, was anciently called Sychnant, *i.e.*, "the *dry* valley," a term manifestly inapplicable to one through which so powerful a stream sought an exit to the sea. (2) The maiden had tarried at home in order that in due time she might bring to the Church not only fire and salt but also *water*, which would hardly have been needful had there been a plentiful spring close to the church door. (3) So too the young gallant Caradoc presents himself at the house of Winefride's father under the pretext of asking for a drink ; a superfluous request if there was a plentiful stream hard by, but natural enough in a locality so notoriously dry as to have borne the name of Sychnant. Had the Life been written in a sceptical and critical age, it might reasonably be suggested that these details were deliberately inserted in order to give colour to the legend ; but occurring as they do in a document of the twelfth century, they may perhaps be fairly regarded in the light of undesigned coincidences.

As regards the name Sychnant, we have heard it urged *per contra* that the biographer describes Teuyth as the lord of three manors, called respectively, Abeluyc, Maynguen (Maengwyn, *i.e.*, White-stone), and Guenphennann (Gwenfynnon) ; and inasmuch as Gwenfynnon obviously means *White-well*, the name might possibly be quoted as an unconscious testimony to the pre-existence of a spring in the place. But a closer examination of the narrative shows that we have no reason whatever for supposing that Gwenfynnon was the name of any portion of what is now the Holywell valley. Of the three manors of

<sup>1</sup> P. 696 D. The translation took place in 1138, at which time the memory of St. Winefride's death on November 3rd was already an old tradition.

Teuyth, Beuno had chosen for his abode not Gwenfynnon, but Abeluyc or "Beluye," and we suspect that Gwenfynnon is to be looked for, not in the Holywell valley, but in the next glen westwards from Holywell along the coast. At the head of this glen, which is also watered by a stream, stands the village of *Whitford*, the name of which may possibly be not unconnected with Gwenfynnon. And while on the one hand the name Gwenfynnon offers no contradiction to the story, its use by the writer of the *Life*—who gives no sign of understanding the meaning of the Welsh words which he mis-spells—may be taken as a mark of his *bona fides*, and as an indication, if one were needed, that the name Sychnant is no invention of his own, brought in to bolster up a mythical legend.

The statement again that Winefride remained at home in order "to prepare the things necessary for the sacrifice, namely, fire and water with salt," is perhaps hardly one which would have been invented in the twelfth or even in the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> It seems rather an echo of an early liturgical usage, and suggests a time when incense was burned on a standing brazier, which would require a larger supply of glowing embers made ready for the moment at which they were required.<sup>2</sup> And as regards the water, if any one should suggest that "fire and water" points to the Eastern use of warm water for the mixing of the chalice, again it might be answered that on this hypothesis we should have yet another unconscious testimony to the antiquity of the tradition, since such archaic usages must have passed away in the Western Church long before the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

But in fact it would seem that water freshly procured from a running stream was the very thing which the Celtic priest was accustomed to use, as appears from a curious passage in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*.<sup>4</sup> Why then, if there was a

<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that the memory of the "fire" has left a trace in the *Life* by Robert of Shrewsbury, who, however, "rationalizes" the detail.

<sup>2</sup> Kraus (*Real-Encycl.* s.v. *Weihrauchfass*) has indeed shown that the use of swinging or suspended thuribles goes back to the highest antiquity, being indeed derived from the Jews. But the use of standing braziers is also very ancient (one preserved at Mannheim and figured by Kraus, *ibid.* fig. 530, is referred by him to the fourth century) and can hardly be supposed to have survived the eighth or ninth century.

<sup>3</sup> In the very interesting work by Leo Allatius, *De rebus ecclesiasticis Græcorum* (Ed. Paris, 1646, p. 136) we read: "In eodem loco (sc. παρὰ θύραις) carbonēs ad altare accendunt, sacris lebetibus calefaciendis occupantur ut more solito aqua fervens sacro calici tempestive infundatur."

<sup>4</sup> "Ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacræ Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam quasi diaconus fontanam hauriret." (Adamn. *Vita S. Columba*, ii. 1, apud Warren, *Celtic Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 133.)



running stream close at hand, should Winefride have brought water from her father's house higher up on the slope of the hill?

Another liturgical feature in the story may perhaps add some straw's weight in favour of the genuineness of the tradition, even as regards some of its minor details. St. Beuno's exhortation to the people to pray for Winefride's restoration to life is followed by a long interval of silent prayer, at the end of which his petition is uttered aloud. Now this kind of triform prayer consisting of (1) an invitation to pray; (2) silent prayer; (3) a collect uttered aloud by the celebrating priest, is of very high antiquity. It enters into the very structure of the Clementine Liturgy, and has left its traces in the *Oremus dilectissimi nobis*, &c., followed by *Flectamus genua*, *Levate*, and a collect in the very ancient morning service for Good Friday which survives in the Roman Missal.<sup>1</sup> The story of St. Winefride possibly carries us back to a time when bidding-prayers were still in ordinary liturgical use, and when the practice was still commonly observed of leaving an interval for silent supplication between the exhortation to pray and the collect which was recited aloud.

There is one more such feature in the Life of St. Beuno, which in part reappears in the *Vita prima* of St. Winefride, and which seems to bid us to seek the origin of the story in a period long anterior to the twelfth century. From several incidents in the Life it appears that grants of land were apt to be revoked at the death of the granter. Thus the sons of Selyff or Selym dispossess Beuno of lands granted by their father or grandfather, and on the death of Cadvan, who had bestowed great possessions on the Saint, he once more finds himself a landless man, "for at that time he had not a place to pray to God, nor wherein to dwell."<sup>2</sup> A late writer would perhaps hardly have invented these details, so characteristic of a highly unsettled state of society.

As regards the multiplication of similar miracles in the lives of Celtic Saints, it is permissible to suggest that if Beuno did in fact perform one such miracle as the raising to life of

<sup>1</sup> Originally of course there was an interval between the *Flectamus genua* and the *Levate*, this time being occupied in silent prayer for the intention just proclaimed. "*Et adnuntiat diaconus: Flectamus genua. Et post paululum dicit: Levate. Et dat orationem.*" (*Sacr. Gelasianum*, Migne, P.L. lxxiv. 1103.) "*Et Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Postquam oraverint, dicit: Levate. Et Pontifex dat orationem.*" (*Sacr. Gregorianum*, P.L. lxxviii. 79.) A MS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary quoted by Menard (*Ibid.* col. 313) has "oret diutissime," i.e., between the *Flectamus* and *Levate*.

<sup>2</sup> *C. B. Saints*, pp. 303, 304.

St. Winefride—or the healing of her wound if she was not actually beheaded, and if this miracle was accompanied by the bursting forth of a spring on the spot hallowed by the Saint's blood, nothing was more natural than that the reminiscence of the fact should lead to a similar story attaching itself to the place at which St. Beuno was more particularly held in honour, viz., Clynnog Fawr. The somewhat similar instances in the lives of St. Cadoc and St. Paternus, of an architect and a servant whose heads were restored to their bodies<sup>1</sup> are neither confirmed by any testimony other than that of the single Lives in which they respectively occur, nor are they, it may be thought, recommended by internal verisimilitude.

A word may here be said concerning Winefride's alleged journey to Rome. Those who might be inclined to deem this incident intrinsically improbable, would do well to remember the pilgrimage of Silvia, full two hundred years earlier, to Jerusalem, the record of which pilgrimage has only recently been recovered. Nor do we understand what Father De Smedt means by saying that the narrative of Robert of Shrewsbury leaves no room for such a journey. It is not easy to see how the question whether Winefride lived at Holywell as a recluse, or whether she there established a community of nuns, has any bearing on the truth or otherwise of her alleged visit to Rome.

But what about the Council or Synod which Winefride is said to have attended? The author of the *Vita prima*, true to his habit of using names which he does not understand, calls it the Synod of *Winifredus* (or Winifredum). Father De Smedt suggests that this may have been a Synod convened (*circ. A.D. 660*) by Wini, Bishop of the West Saxons, at which St. Chad was consecrated Bishop of York.<sup>2</sup> That a Synod was held on that occasion, and that regulations were passed therein concerning monastic discipline, is a matter of pure conjecture. But it may well be that this mention of a *Synodus Winifredi* does embody some disguised fragment of a genuine tradition

<sup>1</sup> *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 47, 197.

<sup>2</sup> By an oversight Father De Smedt speaks of this event as having taken place, at York. The words of Ven. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 28, to which place he refers) are clear enough. Oswy, King of Northumbria, sends Chad to be consecrated by Archbishop Deusdedit of Canterbury. "Verum . . . *Cantiam* pervenientes invenerunt archiepiscopum Deusdedit jam migrasse a sæculo . . . unde diverterunt *ad provinciam Occidentaliū Saxonum* (presumably to Winchester) ubi erat Wini episcopus, assumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente episcopis," &c.

concerning Bishop Wini. Two British Bishops took part with the Saxon Wini in the consecration.

The incident of the yearly sending of Beuno's tunic, no one, we presume, would pretend to uphold. It seems to be one of those legends invented to account for a name (for we are told that St. Beuno was called Cassel Sech, *i.e.*, Dry-coat), or else a fragment from the floating mass of Celtic legendary tradition which attached itself to the Abbot or recluse of Clynnog Fawr, as it also attached itself to so many other Welsh and Irish Saints. It is instructive to notice that, as has been already said, the story of St. Beuno's life is not only silent concerning this incident, but seems actually to exclude it.

Lastly, we do well to remember that the life of St. Winefride belongs, not to a time of utter historical darkness, but to the age of Oswy and Chad and Wilfrid, of St. Columban, St. Gall, and other holy men of the golden age of Irish missionary enterprise, whose deeds are writ large in history. There is then no *a priori* improbability that from such a time correct traditions should have been handed down both orally and in writing, though many such traditions have doubtless been thickly overlaid with mythical legends.

Considerations such as these are not indeed of sufficient weight to justify us in dissenting—on any material point—from the cautious verdict of "not proven" pronounced by Father De Smedt on the details of the narrative; but they may at least dispose us to regard it as not impossible that future researches among the treasures of Celtic hagiography which, as yet await a discoverer or an editor, may one day afford some unlooked-for confirmation of the story of St. Winefride.

HERBERT LUCAS.

## Reviews.

---

### I.—MATERIALS FOR THE BEATIFICATION OF JOAN OF ARC.<sup>1</sup>

OF the two celebrated historical characters whom it is hoped some day to propose for the veneration of the faithful, Joan of Arc and Mary Queen of Scots, the cause of the former, it seems to us, has distinctly the better chance of being brought to a successful issue. The difficulty in both cases lies in the political aspect of the question. Mary, we have strong grounds for believing, owed her death primarily, if not solely, to the circumstance that she remained constant to the Catholic faith, but it can always be maintained, with some show of reason, that she had been found guilty of conspiring against the Sovereign of the country in which she was detained a prisoner. In Joan's case, of course, there is no question of martyrdom. She was condemned by the formal verdict of an ecclesiastical tribunal, but it was a tribunal composed of men inflamed with political passions and smarting from defeat. This verdict was afterwards set aside by the decision of another court, and the maid, in the eyes of the canon law, was completely rehabilitated. However the difficulty remains that the second process might seem, to a casual observer, to bear almost as much of a political complexion as the first. As the editors of the work before us very frankly avow, the memorial drawn up by William Bouillé, the earliest of the documents connected with the rehabilitation, states in its preamble that it was undertaken "for the honour and glory of the King of kings, who defends the cause of the innocent, *as well as for the exaltation of the King of the French and the Royal House of France*, which is never recorded to have countenanced heretics, or in any way to have adhered to them."

It is this revision and reversal of Joan's condemnation for heresy which forms the subject of the admirably edited volume before us. The two Dominican Fathers, M. J. Belon and

<sup>1</sup> *Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par les RR. PP. Belon et Balme des F.F. Prêcheurs. Paris: Lethielleux, 1893.

François Balme, have printed here in full the text of the *Recollectio*, as it is called, in other words, the report of the Grand Inquisitor appointed to inquire into the earlier process. Nothing could be more attractive than the form in which it is here presented to the reader. A clear and succinct narrative is given of all the proceedings connected with it. The document itself is preceded by a detailed analysis in French. Moreover, the Latin text is copiously annotated, and no pains have been spared to give the fullest information about the events and persons to which reference is made. John Bréhal in particular, the author of the *Recollectio*, a Dominican Friar, to whose devoted energy the successful issue of the process was mainly due, receives a large share of attention. The result is that although we cannot say that the book adds materially to our previous knowledge (the *Recollectio* has been printed in substance at least twice before, once by M. L'Anéry d'Arc, and again in the noble work of Father Ayroles, S.J.), still the whole forms a remarkably interesting volume, and it is one that will in future be indispensable to students of the history of La Pucelle. No doubt the editors have had an eye to the practical utility of this reprint in furthering the cause of beatification. It will be a great convenience to be able to place documents so admirably edited in the hands of the members of the Congregation of Sacred Rites without any additional expense. The *Recollectio* is undoubtedly of the first importance in any question, if there still be a question, of Joan's innocence of the charges imputed to her. If we may paraphrase what the editors say in their analysis (p. 102): It was intended by its framer to vindicate her orthodoxy, and to remove the stain which an unjust sentence had left upon her name, but in our own day it is hoped that this official report may go beyond this, and may serve the Sacred Congregation for the basis of an inquiry into the heroicity of her virtues, and her right to be saluted as a blessed servant of God.

We rise from the perusal of this volume, not only with a feeling of respect for the integrity and high character of the Dominican Inquisitor, John Bréhal, but also with a sincere admiration for his legal acumen. We must place ourselves of course in the point of view of a canon lawyer of that epoch, but this being given, Bréhal argues his case with a skill and even an eloquence which has recalled to our minds more than once the pleadings in Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. Whether his

arguments will prove sufficient not only to establish the nullity of the former condemnation, but also to exonerate the holy maid from all that might seem derogatory to the character of a canonized saint, is a point upon which we can hardly presume to offer an opinion. Such episodes as that of the abjuration are not, we must confess, to our mind altogether free from difficulty. However this may be, the editors have rendered a service alike to history and to the Church by this timely publication.

This tribute to the memory of a Dominican Inquisitor published by two learned Fathers of the same Order, and recording many other examples of the services rendered by the Friars Preachers to the cause of the maid, is probably intended to serve in part as a counterblast to some of the unfriendly things which have been said of the Dominicans by the historian M. Siméon Luce. The refutation is a silent one, for we note that M. Siméon Luce's name has been excluded, perhaps *avec intention*, from the list of authorities. But if anybody were disposed to believe what that writer seems to imply, that the Mendicant Orders at the beginning of the fifteenth century were divided into two camps, the Franciscans for and the Dominicans against the national party represented by Joan, they will find ample material in the pages before us for arriving at a sounder judgment.

---

## 2.—CATHOLIC SCIENCE AND CATHOLIC SCIENTISTS.<sup>1</sup>

The four chapters of this volume, we are told in the Preface, originally appeared as articles in the *Ave Maria* and the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*. The large amount of useful matter that is compressed into 217 pages makes them well worth republishing. The object of the book is to show that "there is not, and cannot be, a conflict between real science and true religion; that those who have been guided by the light of faith and Christian philosophy, are precisely those who have achieved the greatest measure of success in the pursuit of knowledge," and also to show "the relation of the Church to science."

In the first chapter some of the more prominent difficulties that science is thought to have raised against Revelation are

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists*. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner and Co., 1893.



briefly examined, and it is pointed out that nothing certain or even probable has been established against the teaching of the Catholic Church, and that "what the conflict should be called—what, in fact, it always has been—is a conflict between individuals; commentators and theologians on one side, and scientists and philosophers on the other."

If literature of this kind were widely disseminated, it might check much evil that is done by the vapid nonsense which appears in our periodicals under the heading of science. The formidable list of Catholic scientists with their achievements, which is given in the second chapter, is a sufficient response to those who say that the Church is opposed to progress. We are shown that most of the scientific giants, compared to whom the modern atheistic professor is but a pigmy, were loyal sons of the Church. In "Dogma and scientific dogmatism," certain leading representatives of modern scientific thought are subjected to condign chastisement for exacting a blind acceptance of their unproved dicta. The concluding chapter shows how the true friends of science have ever been the defenders of the Church and revealed truth, whereas the foes of the Church have also been the foes of true science. We notice more misprints than is usually found on such good paper. "Hypotheneuse" is a curiosity; the "h" is tolerable though objectionable, but the "eu" is a puzzle.

We heartily commend this little book as full of information, and likely to be most useful in disabusing readers of many false ideas which are continually being dinned into our ears.

---

3.—THE BOLLANDIST CATALOGUE OF PARIS MSS.<sup>1</sup>

The third and concluding volume of "hagiographical" MSS. in Latin, preserved in the national library of Paris, has recently been published by the Bollandists. It is accompanied by a separately pagged Index, which extends to the entire work—a noble monument indeed] to the industry of these untiring students of ecclesiastical history. We have already in an earlier number of *THE MONTH* called the attention of our readers to the fact that this catalogue is very far from being what is usually denoted by the word, a mere dry list of names and titles. There are of course a very large number of entries, with regard to which there is nothing to record beyond the fact that

we have here another MS. copy of some well-known Latin Life already in print, but even here the date, paging, details of contents, &c., and, as far as possible, the history of the MS. volume is always indicated. Where, however, the editors in their researches have come across materials which have not yet seen the light, they very frequently, if they are not too bulky, print them in the catalogue itself in smaller type. In this way all three volumes are full of interesting documents, principally short mediæval Lives, or *legenda*, and narratives of miracles. They may not be materials of the first historical importance, but they are, on the other hand, very often such as shed much light on the social conditions and religious beliefs of the ages in which they were written. We may note that there is an unusually large proportion of this hitherto unprinted material which has reference to the Saints of Great Britain, or to the continental Britain, the modern Brittany. This is perhaps more observable in the former volumes, but even in that now under discussion we have some new miracles of St. Magloire, which supplemented a very interesting Life of that Saint printed in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. viii., and introducing many curious details relating to the Channel Islands; also a brief collection of miracles wrought at the shrine of St. Richard of Chichester. They show us that in the case of St. Richard also, as of so many other English Saints, the practice of "measuring" and "coin-bending" was in favour. There is a curious story also of one "Robert de Wistianestoun," a retainer of Stephen, Bishop of Chichester, who was punished for his incredulity as to the miraculous power of the Saint by sudden dumbness. He recovered his speech after being favoured with a vision on a visit to his tomb; in the course of which we read that he kissed the head of St. Richard, which was presented to him by the Bishop, "and afterwards feeling better, put his own head into the tomb of the Saint and fell asleep for a while." Those who are familiar with the arrangement of most of our early English shrines, will recognize at once a practice which was common at Canterbury, Lincoln, and several other noted places of pilgrimage.

It is needless to add that this volume, like all else which comes to us from the Bollandists, is a model in point of typography and careful editing.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*. Vol. iii. Bruxellis: Rue des Ursulines, 14.

4.—LIFE OF BLESSED GERARD MAJELLA.<sup>1</sup>

The life of the Blessed Gerard Majella is rightly described by his biographer as one long wonder. From the time when, a little boy of five years old, he used to hold familiar intercourse with our Lord, who deigned under the form of a child to descend from the tabernacle to play with him, until at the age of thirty years he went to enjoy for ever the vision of God, the story of his life is crowded with a continual series of marvels. These marvels were besides wrought so publicly and with such apparent ease, that the most sceptical looker-on could not doubt their reality, unless he disbelieved the evidence of his own eyes. No saint ever lived more truly a supernatural life than he did. At the age of ten years, so great was the spirit of prayer that animated him, and so profound his love of God, that he was permitted, not merely to approach the Holy Table frequently, but to receive Holy Communion every alternate day. Born in a lowly position, he was removed early from school, and apprenticed to a tailor in the town of Mura, among the Apennines, his native place. Although he applied himself diligently to learn the trade, while his fingers plied the needle, his soul was wrapt in ecstasy, and his absorption in prayer drew down upon him the persecutions of his fellow-workmen. Feeling himself irresistibly attracted to the religious state, he offered himself to the Capuchins, but they would not admit him on account of his youth and the delicacy of his health. His thirst for suffering then induced him to engage himself a servant to a gentleman notorious for his ungovernable temper. At the end of three years his master died, and Blessed Gerard begged to be admitted into the Redemptorist Order as a lay-brother. His request was refused on the same grounds as before; but he urged it with such earnestness and persistence, that the Father to whom he had applied sent him to the Rector with a letter containing these words: I send you a useless Brother. Little did that Father dream that the postulant of whom he spoke thus would be the edification of his community, the glory of his Order, an object of admiration to all the faithful.

Alphonsus soon discovered the extraordinary sanctity of

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Blessed Gerard Majella, Lay-brother of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.* By the Rev. O. R. Vassall, Priest of the same Congregation. London: Charles Rock, 106, Great Russell Street, 1893.

this holy Brother. Not indeed because of the severe penance which, like St. Aloysius, he united to a life of singular innocence, not because he was ravished in ecstasy and raised above the ground for hours before the sight of all men, not because to work miracles out of compassion for his fellow-men was with him a matter of daily occurrence, but because of the meekness and humility he displayed in a time of severe trial. A calumnious tongue brought a vile accusation against the saintly youth, and the founder of the Order summoned him to his presence to answer it. The evidence was strong against him; Gerard neither admitted nor denied the charge. This appeared to be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; St. Alphonsus, who then knew little of him, forbade him to receive Holy Communion, or to hold intercourse with any outsider. It was a period of terrible trial to Gerard, but he never murmured, thinking it was the will of God that he should suffer this humiliation. After a time the calumniators of his innocence openly confessed their statements to be a tissue of lies.

St. Alphonsus was overwhelmed with joy. He immediately recalled Gerard, and declared that the virtues which he had practised during his time of trial were in themselves enough to prove him to be a great Saint.

The holy Founder once asked Blessed Gerard why he had not said so much as one word to prove his innocence.

"Father," answered Gerard, "does not the Rule forbid us to excuse ourselves?"

St. Alphonsus was touched to the heart. "Well, well!" he replied, "may God bless you, my son." (p. 116.)

It must be added that the rule forbidding a Redemptorist to defend himself when reproved was not intended to apply to circumstances such as these.

In turning over the pages of this captivating little volume, on every one we find recorded some instance of how Blessed Gerard read the past or revealed the future, disclosed to sinners the secrets of their consciences to bring them to repentance, knew and obeyed the wishes of his Superiors at a distance before they were intimated to him, cured the sick, created bread for the hungry, miraculously multiplied the food already provided, or wrought some other marvel which testified to the splendour of his supernatural endowments. Of these, space forbids us to give more than two examples.

Standing one day by the Bay of Naples, he beheld a boat crowded with people on the point of sinking beneath the waves.

Relying on the protecting arm of Him who caused St. Peter to walk upon the face of the water as upon solid earth, Gerard made the sign of the Cross, and then advanced unhesitatingly into the sea. "In the name of the Most Holy Trinity," thus did he adjure the frail craft that was going down before his very eyes, "stay where thou art, I command thee."

That moment the boat remained motionless. Gerard advanced, seized it, as he might have caught a lily floating on the surface of the bay, and brought it to the shore. Then in presence of the assembled multitude, without his clothes being so much as wet, he stepped out of the sea on to dry land. (p. 135.)

On another occasion he found some villagers in trouble because they could not drag some trees that were required as timber for the roof of their church from the place where they were felled.

On his arrival the Saint knelt down to beg the blessing of Heaven. Then attaching his handkerchief to one of the largest trees, which was so heavy that neither oxen nor buffaloes had been able to move it, he cried out: "In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, O creature of God, I order thee to follow me!" then to the amazement of all the spectators, he dragged it, alone and without effort, down to the valley. (p. 176.)

For other miracles performed by Blessed Gerard, we must refer the reader to the book itself. It is not only full of marvels, but of spiritual instruction also. The infused knowledge of the Saint was such that priests and even bishops consulted him on abstruse questions; his advice to Religious, of which a specimen is given (pp. 120—125), is of high value, while his resolutions (p. 101) contain practical lessons for all. May every reader learn by his example to say as he did: "Some place sanctification in this, some in that. For my part I place it only in doing the will of God."

---

##### 5.—PORTRAITS.<sup>1</sup>

We have read with pleasure the new edition of poems by Augusta Webster, entitled *Portraits*. The characters portrayed

<sup>1</sup> *Portraits*. By Augusta Webster. Third Edition. Published by Macmillan and Co., 1893.

in all their different and varied phases of mind, are living human beings with whom one can sympathize and converse, no cold, marble statues. Where much is so good and of a high order of merit, we select for special praise the poems "Medea in Athens" and "The Manuscript of St. Alexius." The former evinces the most power, and in our opinion is the best composition in the volume. Medea is a portrait, true to life, of a woman racked with love, hate, and jealousy, in faithful accordance with the Medea of the Greek poet, whom the authoress has wisely taken as her model.

Oh, smooth adder,  
Who with fanged kisses chang'dst my natural blood  
To venom in me, say, didst thou not find  
A grave and simple girl in a still home,  
Learning my spells for pleasant services  
Or to make sick-beds easier? With me went  
The sweet sound of friends' voices praising me.

Thou cam'st, and from the day thou, meeting me  
In Hecate's dim grove culling my herbs,  
Didst burn my cheek with kisses hot and strange,  
The curse of thee compelled me. (p. 9.)

Those acquainted with the play of the ancient poet, know one of the most pathetic touches in the drama is the love which Medea shows for her children. This touch the authoress has depicted with great art in several parts of her poem. For instance :

Yes 'twas best so : my sons, we are avenged.  
Thou mock me not. What if I have ill dreams,  
Seeing them loathe me, fly from me in dread,  
When I would feed my hungry mouth with kisses?  
What if I moan in tossing fever-thirsts,  
Crying for them whom I shall have no more,  
Here nor among the dead, will smile to me  
Here nor among the dead, who never more,  
With young lips prattling, "Mother, mother dear"?  
What if I turn sick when the women pass  
That lead their boys, and hate a child's young face? (p. 12.)

The familiar and beautiful story of Alexius, popularized by Cardinal Wiseman's drama, "The Hidden Gem," is skilfully told. The pity Alexius feels for the grief of those he loves is tenderly expressed :

Alas, you have had little joy of me :  
Beloved, could I have given drops of blood



In place of your shed tears, the cruellest wounds  
Had been my perfect joys : but both my love  
And your distress needs were my cross to bear.  
Forgive me that you sorrowed. And be glad  
Because you sorrowed and your sorrow was  
Holy to God, a sacrifice to Him. (p. 167.)

The dream of the Saint in the chapel before his departure from his home with its refrain, "Alexius come," is a choice piece of writing. We regret that space does not allow us to quote it. The closing words of the manuscript of Alexius are very beautiful :

And now, O Lord, let earth be dim to me,  
And Heaven come near mine eyes : the time is short,  
And I am fain for Thee. Lord Jesus, come. (p. 189.)

The opening lines of "Circe" are good verse, and throughout the poem her weariness and her desire for one to love are well worked out. In "A Castaway" we have a vivid picture of a woman in whom the yearnings for a virtuous life are not yet dead. The spirit of happy content which the composition "In an Almshouse" breathes, leaves a peace in the heart of the reader. We like the opening lines of this poem very much. The language of the poems is generally well chosen and dignified, fraught with grace and power. Many of the lines will be found to linger long in the memory after perusal.

---

#### 6.—SINAI AND SYRIA.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Père Jullien, missionary at Beyrout, is familiar to us as that of the author of many pleasant and entertaining sketches of scenes and incidents in the regions where his apostolic labours lead him. We have now before us a more important work from his gifted pen, a descriptive account of a part of Palestine and Syria. The three expeditions which form the subject of the book appear to have been holiday, not missionary tours. The first is a visit to Sinai. After the Holy Land, which the Eternal Word vouchsafed to adopt as His native country, the soil of which He sanctified by His footsteps, watered with His tears, and dyed with His Blood, no spot is more solemn and interesting for the Christian than the mountain

<sup>1</sup> *Sinai et Syrie*. Souvenirs bibliques et chrétiens. Par le R. P. M. Jullien, S.J. Lille : Société de Saint Augustin, Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie., 1893.

where God spoke with man, and gave to him the tables of the law which the coming of Christ was not to destroy, but to fulfil. In the sombre deserts and secluded caves of that mount many hermits of old made their dwelling, recalling the days when the heavenly manna formed the food of the wandering Israelites in the wilderness below, the supernatural pillar of light constituted their only guide. A monastery, built in the sixth century, fortified by a massive wall to protect the inmates from the ferocity of the barbarous tribes, and the cruel fanaticism of the Moslems, rests at the foot of the mountain where Moses and Elias were privileged to behold the Divine glory. We will give in Père Jullien's own words a brief description of the approach to it.

We were now within two hours' march of Sinai. The aspect of the surrounding country grew more and more solemn and impressive; the plain we were traversing widened out and became less broken; the mountains rose to a greater and greater height. At length a turning in the valley brought us in sight of the holy mountain, whose numerous peaks towered perpendicularly above us with a majesty nothing short of sublime. The *wadi* extended to the foot of the mountain where it was cleft, so to speak, in two by the huge rocks. In a northerly direction it spreads away to the magnificent plain of er Rahah, where the people of Israel pitched their tents; towards the south, winding between stupendous walls of rock, it forms the dark and narrow *wadi* ed-Deir, on which stands the Convent of St. Catherine. From the entrance of this valley the wall enclosing the garden is seen at a distance of about a mile and a half, and through the trees the solid masonry of the monastery itself is plainly discernible.

We were about to ask hospitality from the schismatic Greek monks for the week we were intending to spend in its environs.

The history is given at some length of this ancient and remarkable monastery, which, according to tradition, is built on the spot where Jehovah spoke to the Prophet out of the burning bush. Formerly the convent door was never opened, except to give ingress to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The traveller to whom admission within its precincts is granted used to be hoisted up to an aperture in the wall some thirty-five feet high. Now he only sends up his letters of introduction in a basket, and awaits below until the portal uncloses.

We were kept waiting rather a long time while our papers were examined [Father Jullien continues]. It was the hour for the distribution of bread to the Bedouins. About fifty men, women, and

children were standing at the foot of the wall. Each in turn sent up a tattered handkerchief, or piece of rag; this was knotted together, and thrown down again to its owner after his ration of bread had been placed in it. The men and children received each three loaves of black bread, not bigger than one's fist, and of no definite shape. The women only had two as their portion; for what reason we were unable to discover. This distribution takes place on alternate days, and only one tribe has the right of sharing in it.

At length a wide and newly-made door between the convent and the garden was opened, and together with our Bedouin attendants and our camels, we entered a side court, set apart for the servants. A Religious wearing a black habit and a leathern belt admitted us into the convent through a small low door barred with iron. (p. 102.)

In the second expedition on which Father Jullien invites the reader to accompany him, the travellers took the road of Damascus, and explored the region between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus. All that the past and present of this smiling and fertile country, rich in historical associations, biblical and religious, military and political, offers of interest; details descriptive of its physical features, the monuments of bygone ages scattered over its surface; the character and customs of its inhabitants; these and much more contribute their quota to enrich the well-filled pages before us. The third excursion is in the north of Syria, a territory less well known because less frequented by the traveller than the south, but no less full of interest, especially of an archæological and architectural nature. We must not omit to add that numerous engravings embellish Father Jullien's charming narrative of his travels, illustrating and elucidating the descriptions of scenes and scenery.

## *Literary Record.*

---

### I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

CANON MOSER has done a good work in bringing out an English translation of a little book which has had a large sale in Germany, and deserves to have large sale in England. We do not know that English Catholics neglect their duty to those who have passed away and who still need their help; but the surrounding Protestantism necessarily isolates them, and cuts off those who die in this country from many prayers that would be offered for them if they had lived and died where all were of one faith. There are hundreds who pass away every year and whose very existence is scarcely known to their fellow-Catholics; many whose relations are miserably poor and can but ill-afford Masses for them; many who have neglected their religion and who only at the last are reconciled to God, and will therefore have a long and terrible period of purgation. Then we must not forget the large sums of money that were diverted at the time of the Reformation from their original object of providing Masses for the Holy Souls. Thus in England we need, more than elsewhere, to be reminded of the needs of the poor suffering souls. The *All Souls Forget me not*<sup>2</sup> is admirably adapted for this pious purpose. It contains a method of hearing Mass for the Holy Souls; litanies, prayers, and other devotions on their behalf; a short dogmatic treatise on Purgatory; a number of gifts to be given to them—almsgiving, fasting, prayer, Holy Mass, Indulgences, &c. Then follows a short list of Saints who were specially devout to the Holy Souls; an account of a number of flowers that remind us of them; and lastly, the Office of the Dead in Latin and English. The book is most complete and ought to do a great deal during the present month to foster this most important devotion.

<sup>2</sup> *All Souls Forget me not.* By the Very Rev. Canon Moser.

Father Francis Daly, S.J., has published a charming little book which represents our Blessed Lady as bringing her children before the Tabernacle and teaching them to honour Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament as she honoured Him during His mortal life.<sup>1</sup> The idea is a beautiful one, and the writer desires that all who read his little book should join themselves together in an association of pious souls known to God alone who should make it their object to do all they can to offer to our Lord upon the altar the homage that Mary offered Him, and to console Him by their devotion and love as Mary sought to console Him when "He came to His own and His own received Him not." We are glad to see that Father Daly's manual has run through many editions, and we hope that its sale may be a very large one indeed.

Published sermons are as a rule not very attractive and not very successful. The general public does not care to read them, and priests do not care to take another man's ideas worked out in a way that is not likely to fall in with the bent of their own minds. What is really of value is the suggestive outline which each can fill up as he pleases, and it is this that Canon Bagshawe supplies with great skill in very attractive form. The outlines are very full—if the expression is not a contradiction in terms, and for each sermon is suggested matter enough for several. A great deal of Scripture, Scripture texts and Scripture illustrations, is introduced into these *Skeleton Sermons*,<sup>2</sup> which are also well suited for points of meditation. Our only objection is the title of *Skeleton Sermons*—a skeleton suggests something bare and dry and lifeless, whereas these outlines are replete with life and interest to the pious reader.

The enterprising Mr. Herder not only publishes a great variety of devotional books for his own country, but reproduces them in an English dress, in which they share all the advantages of the beautiful illustrations of the original, and at the same time are so well rendered into English that their foreign origin is scarcely recognizable. The most recent of these is a tiny prayer-book for children, entitled *Jesus, the Children's Friend*,<sup>3</sup> with a coloured frontispiece and some sixty well-executed

<sup>1</sup> *The Child of Mary before Jesus abandoned in the Tabernacle.* Translated from the French. Eleventh Edition. *Limerick Gazette Office*, 114, George Street, Limerick.

<sup>2</sup> *Skeleton Sermons for the Sundays and Holidays of the Year.* By John B. Bagshawe, D.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesus, the Children's Friend.* An illustrated prayer-book for the little ones. Freiburg: Herder.

engravings. There are pictures to illustrate the sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelus, the Apostles' Creed, the Stations, and the Mysteries of the Rosary. We cannot imagine a better book for children who are just beginning to read, and we feel sure that it will have a large circulation both in England and America.

The work of the Confraternity of Divine Expiation is one that must enlist the sympathy of every Catholic who at all appreciates the manifold corruption and forgetfulness of God that is prevalent in the present day. Father Kenelm Vaughan, who has devoted his life to the work of expiation, has lately published a paper<sup>1</sup> which he read on the subject at the Eucharistic Congress lately held in Jerusalem. It gives a very interesting account of the work of expiation, of its end and object, and of the means by which it is to be carried out. It is under the patronage of St. Jeremias the Prophet, and Father Vaughan traces manifold parallels between the days of Jeremias and our own, and between the spirit of the Prophet and the spirit of the brotherhood and confraternity which it is the object of his life to promote all the world over. We hope that through the mercy of God the work may continually increase and prosper and may be the means of doing great things for God.

*The Life of Father Alexis Clerc, Sailor and Jesuit*,<sup>2</sup> has been compressed by Lady Amabel Kerr into the dimensions of one of the penny biographical series of the Catholic Truth Society. We have been surprised in looking through it, to see how much of what was most characteristic of the man and his work she has been able to preserve. It is an interesting little record, and in this form it will have a chance of finding its way into the hands of our Catholic sailors, the class of men, we take it, whom it is primarily intended to benefit. If only Jack Tar can so far overcome his national prejudices as to believe that one who had the misfortune to be born a Frenchman may have been a holy man, and—what is much more difficult of credence—a good seaman, this little booklet will win hearty acceptance and do great good.

<sup>1</sup> *The Brotherhood of the Divine Expiation.* A paper read before the Eucharistic Congress at Jerusalem in 1893. By the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan. Published at 28, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. 1d.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexis Clerc, Sailor and Jesuit* (1819-1871). By Lady Amabel Kerr. London: Catholic Truth Society.



Messrs. Pustet have recently issued a shorter Life of Blessed Gerard Majella,<sup>1</sup> the Redemptorist lay-brother. The Italian original, from which it is translated, is largely taken up with a description of the very numerous supernatural favours which the holy Brother has obtained for his clients, and a prefatory note explains that the work is intended to find its way amongst the people, to whom accounts of these miraculous occurrences are always especially interesting. If it were not that the translator probably knows his own Catholic public better than we do, we should have been inclined to think that the book, full of edification as it is, was perhaps a little too Italian in tone for the taste of English or American readers. A description of the cure of an epileptic, for instance, is introduced thus: "From the cradle Antonio Addio of Arienzo was subject to epilepsy. In the attacks of this malignant disease, which occurred regularly every quarter of the moon, he fell to the ground, foaming furiously at the mouth," &c. "Malignant" is rather a strong word to use of epilepsy, and the sceptical reader will be tempted to wonder a little what the moon could have to do with it. The book however is well printed, and contains a good portrait of the saint.

Mr. Grant has an excellent mastery of rhythm and of rhyme, and has great skill in casting into poetical mould his reflections on the most modern and prosaic as well as the most ancient subjects.<sup>2</sup> He is a keen observer of Nature and a good Christian withal. The tone of his poem is always healthy and elevating. Some of the subjects which especially bring out the versatile talent of Mr. Grant are the intercepted letters, in which the temper of the writers and the character of the age to which they belong are thrown with great skill into relief. The first of these is from Zimeide, Lord of Lechish, and is based upon recently discovered inscriptions, and combines most successfully the Eastern mode of expression with modern phraseology.

<sup>1</sup> *Blessed Gerard Majella, C.S.S.R. A Sketch of his Life and Miracles.* Translated from the Italian by a Priest of the same Congregation. New York: Pustet.

<sup>2</sup> *Songs in Springtime.* By John Cameron Grant. London: E. W. Allen, 4, Ave Maria Lane.

## II.—MAGAZINES.

In the opening article of the *Études* (September), the right of France to maintain her footing on the banks of Mékong is vindicated; a footing which it cost persistent and strenuous efforts to acquire. The recent litigation between the French and Siamese Governments is attributed to English rivalry. An interesting account is given of the relations, both political and religious, of the two nations in the past; the connection between France and Cochin-China does not date merely from 1862, but more than a century back, when French missionaries sought to conquer the semi-barbarous land for Christ, and civilization was spread where the Gospel was preached. The Exhibition held this year in Madrid, to celebrate the fourth centenary of the discovery of America, forms the subject of another paper. It was to the historical character of this Exhibition that it owed its chief attraction, and its undeniable success. Cathedrals and museums, libraries and archives, all lent their quota of historic treasures; rare specimens of mediæval art, marvellous tapestries, costly jewels, and what is of higher interest, ancient documents and manuscripts, the existence of which was hitherto unknown. The writer confines his attention in this first article to Pontifical documents referring to the discoveries of Christopher Columbus, and to records of the celebrated Universities of Spain. Father Cornut contributes a pleasing sketch of Lamartine, his history, his character, his intellectual and religious life. The pen of the *littérateur* has been busy of late with this poet, who regains the place he deserves among the poets of his country, now that the admiration excited by Victor Hugo and his school has subsided. The Superior of the mission of Alaska narrates the history of the mission, in which he has laboured incessantly for the last seven years, since its commencement in 1877, up to the present time. This account is prefaced by a short description of the country, the tract of territory, that is, which has lately been ceded by Russia to the United States, the features and character of which is little known in Europe. Father Desjardins deplors the unsatisfactory result of the late elections in France. It would have been far different, he remarks, had the admonition of the Holy Father been heeded. For the first time for centuries the Pope interposed in politics, because not only political questions were at stake, but the interests of religion and the rights of the

Church. He exhorted the faithful to forget personal considerations, and not to return candidates who upheld anti-Christian and anti-social principles.

In the October issue of the *Katholik*, Dr. Huppert continues his painstaking examination of the difficult and somewhat intricate arguments of moral theologians for and against the theory of probabilism. The exceptions and restrictions, the different degrees of probability, the nature of practical certainty, are duly weighed and discussed. Finally the advisability is urged of adhering to the teaching of old and tried guides in doubtful matters of conscience. Dr. Bellesheim reviews a recent publication of the *Görresgesellschaft*, which throws fresh light on the subject of the divorce of Henry VIII. It gives the result of researches in the Vatican archives, and is of importance not only because it elucidates an episode of English Church history, but furnishes an instance of the firmness of the Holy See in asserting the indissolubility of the marriage bond. The student of the calamitous and somewhat obscure period of German history, the Thirty Years' War, will find abundant information in a work lately published on the subject by Onno Klopp, and reviewed in the pages of the *Katholik*. The historical accuracy of the author is highly extolled, likewise his graphic delineation of persons and events, and the clear-sighted view he takes of the motives that actuated the principal actors in that tragic drama. Although every one is aware that prayers and psalms for the dead from the earliest ages formed part of the devotions of the Christian, yet few know, and all will be glad to learn, how the Office for the Dead acquired its present shape, and when the recitation of it came into general use. The reader will find its origin and gradual adoption traced out in the pages of the *Katholik*. The remaining articles consist of a study of the position the humanitarian Bredenbach holds as a biblical exegetist, and the translation of a pastoral by one of the American Bishops on the subject of religious education in public schools.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (1039) speaks of the excitement caused in Italy by the recent French elections. They were said to have resulted in the discomfiture of the Holy Father, because the authoritative, friendly, paternal counsel he gave to the French people, to accept the present form of government in order to promote the pacification of their country, was apparently little heeded. The *Civiltà* contends that the policy of the Pope, or rather his efforts in defence of religion, have not been frustrated,

since many Catholics who have the courage of their creed, have been returned to Parliament. The analysis of the ancient Ptolemaic system of astronomy is continued, and the untenableness of that theory of the movements of the planets demonstrated. It was however universally adopted, and popular prejudice clung to it, so that at the outset the new system of Copernicus made little headway.

The *Rivista Internazionale* has for its object the elucidation of the great social problems of the age, the discussion of the novel theories that every day brings forth in regard to the rights and duties of the State, of society, of the family, of the individual. The first article (September) inquires, In what does human society really consist? with the result of showing that modern sociologists have no true conception of that about which they talk so glibly. The position and action of the capitalist in contemporary political economics is carefully worked out in the second article; the subject of the third is the *Bourses du travail* and corporative associations as factors in the socialistic movements of the day. The former may be classed in two categories: (1) Those which, inaugurated under the auspices of the municipality, are confided to the management of a syndicate of operatives with socialistic aims. (2) Those which are founded by some philanthropic institution, like those of Liège. The associations of artisans and working-men may be, and often are, in Germany more especially, a potent weapon in the hands of Catholics for the promotion of religion and social order.

The *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, in its fourth issue for 1893, is rather severely abstract; the "Mediaeval teaching on God," as represented in St. Thomas and Scotus, *i.e.*, on those questions now discussed by theologians in the treatise *De Deo*, and the "Analogical Conception of Being," constitute two out of the three main articles of the number. The third, on "Civil Marriages and their Validity," by Father Biederlack, will, however, be useful to a very wide circle of readers, and though written mainly from the point of view of the state of things in Germany, will be read with interest by priests in England and Ireland. The reviews and *Analekten* are as usual excellent, and, thanks mainly to the long residence in this country of such able contributors as Father Zimmermann, they display an acquaintance with all that is happening in the English world of letters very unusual in foreign periodicals.

